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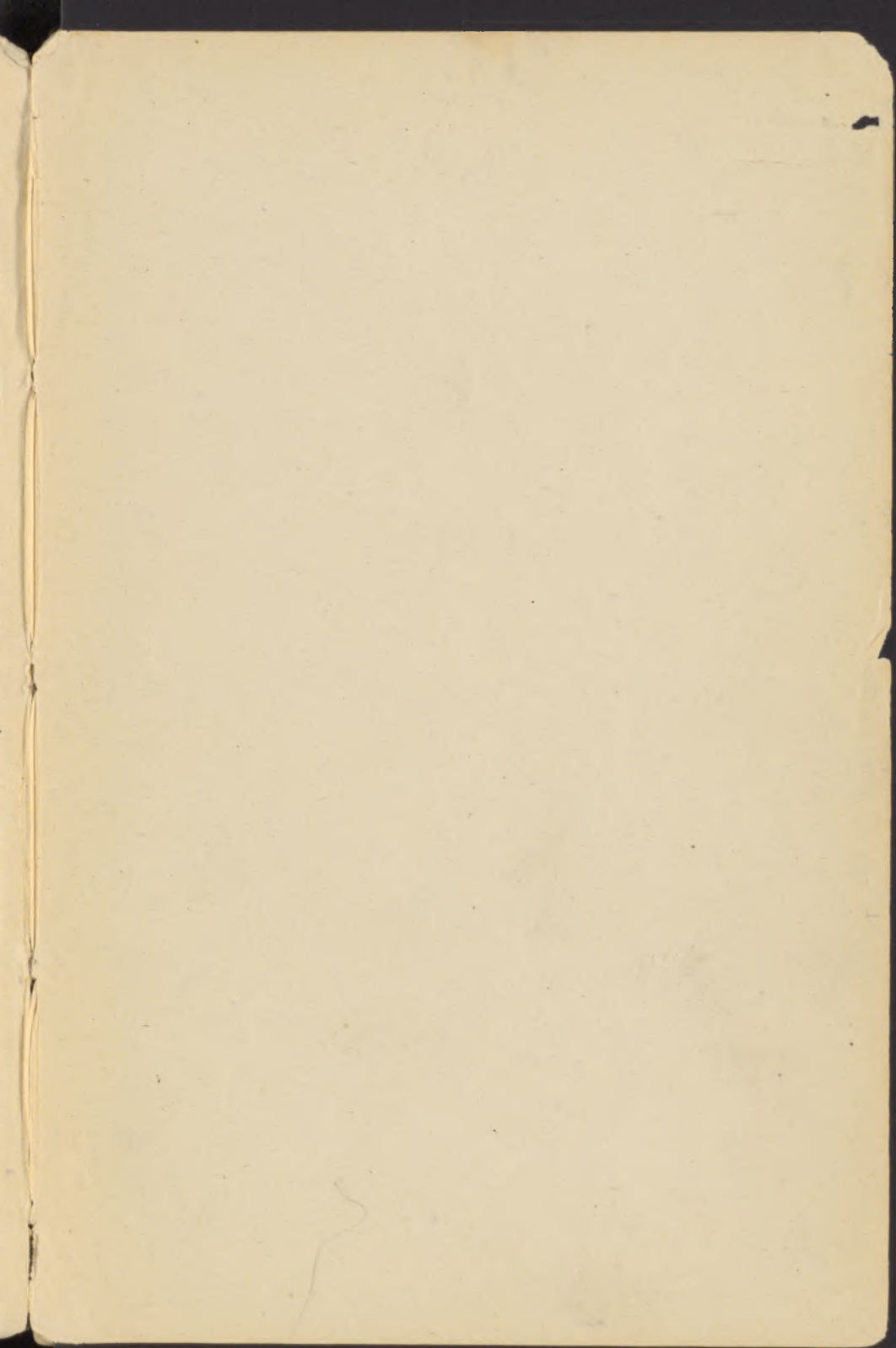
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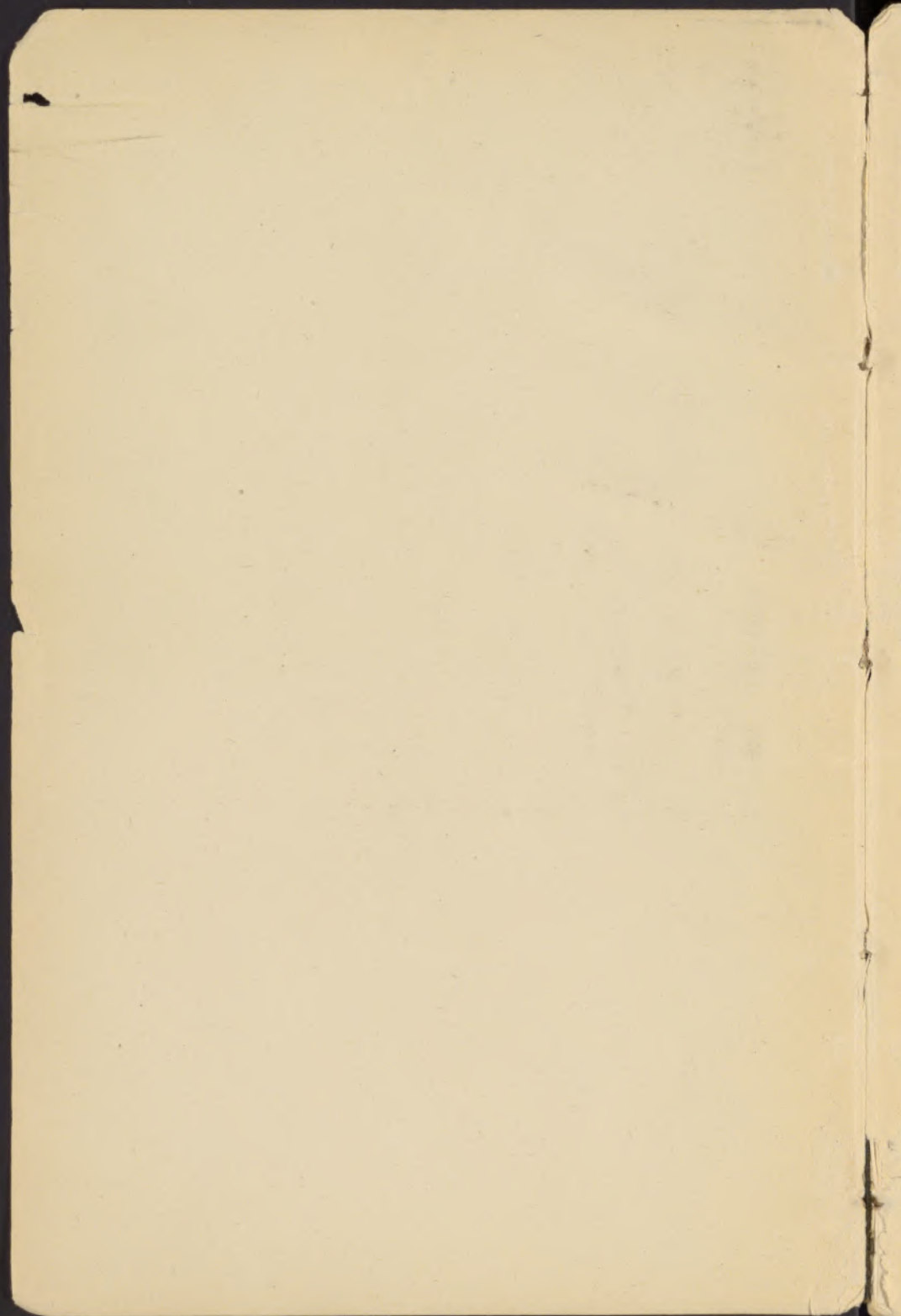


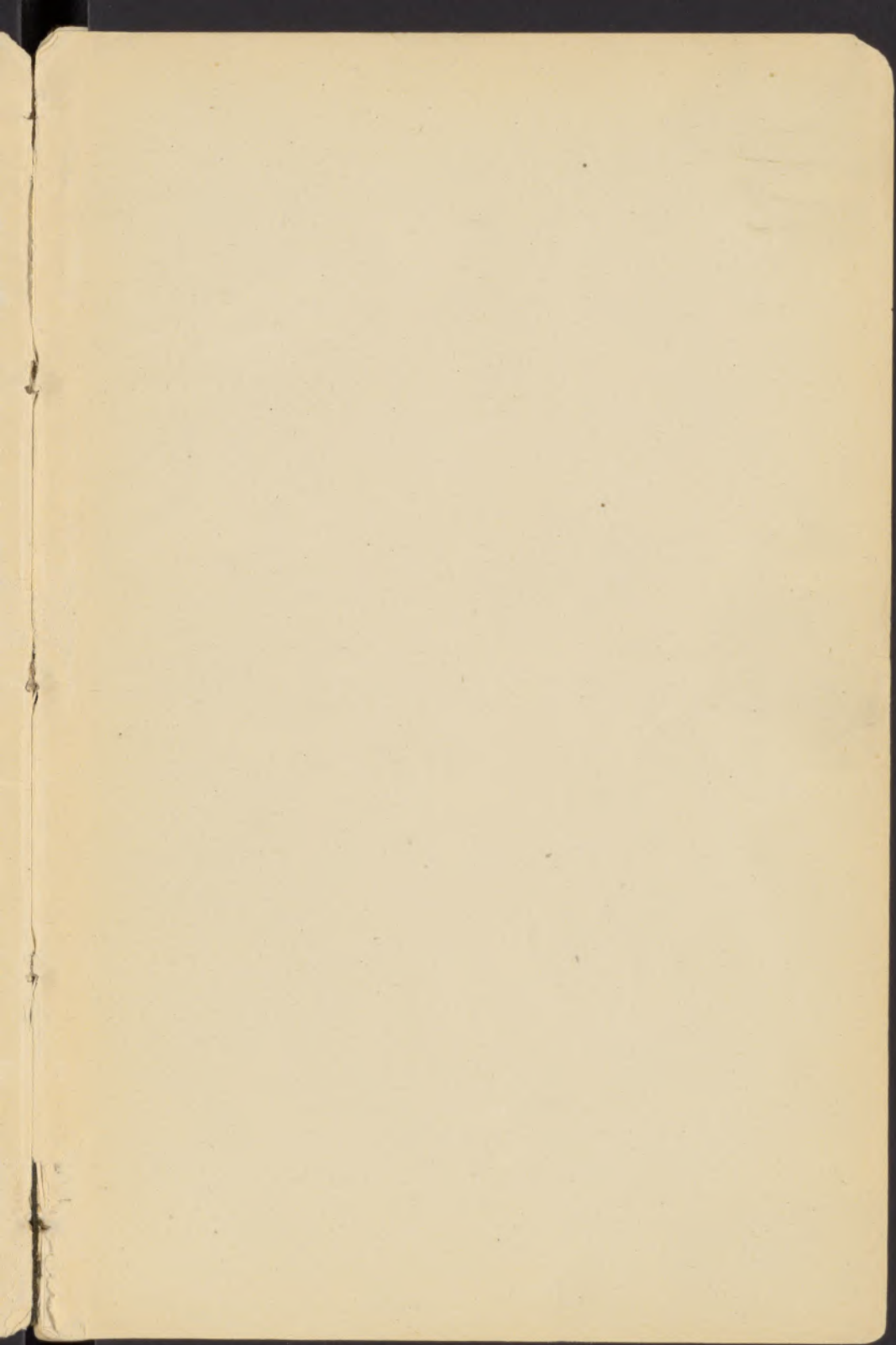


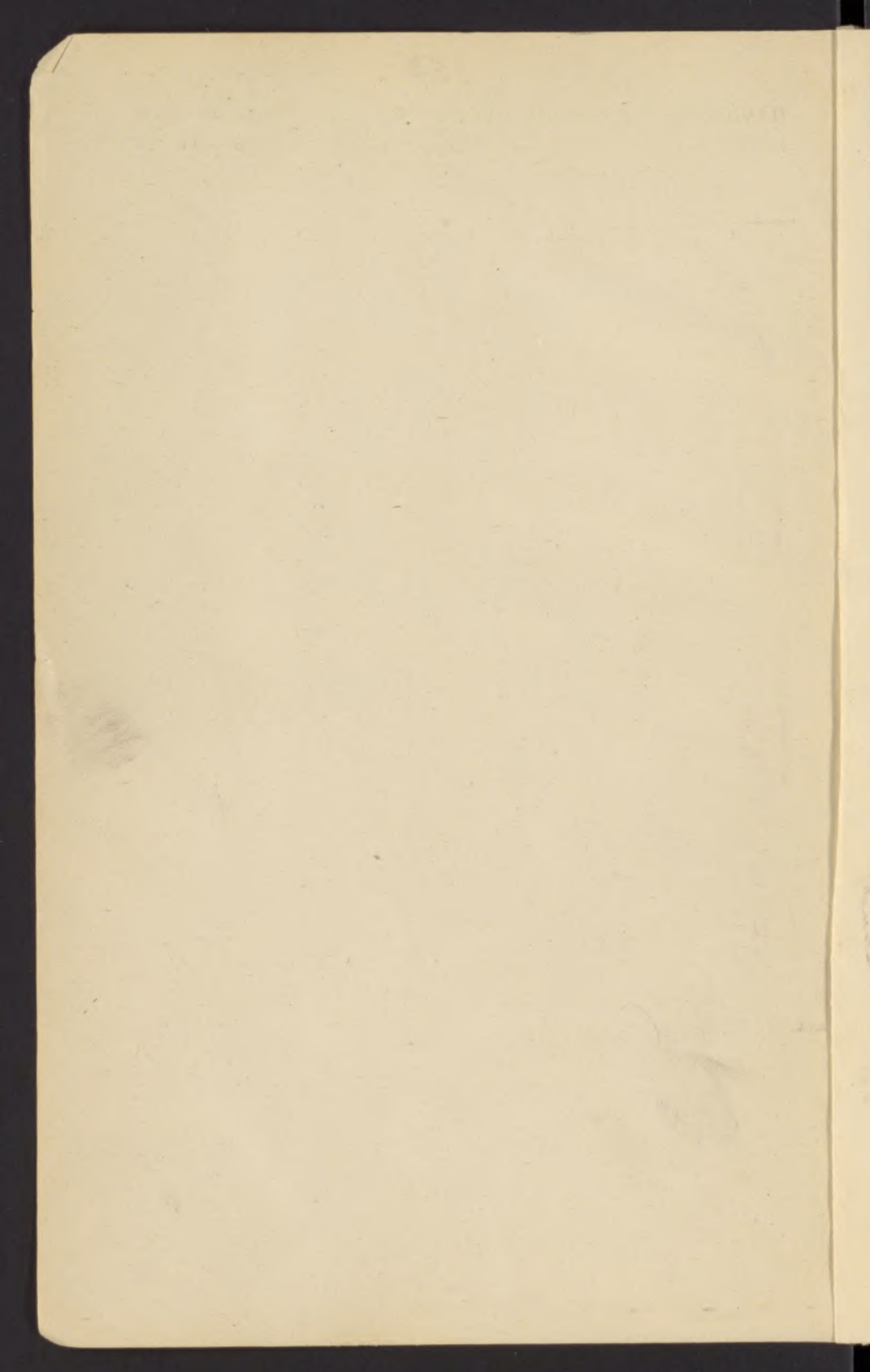
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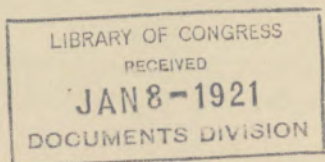
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Editorial Note.

12/15/17
In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connection with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous enquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly

Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

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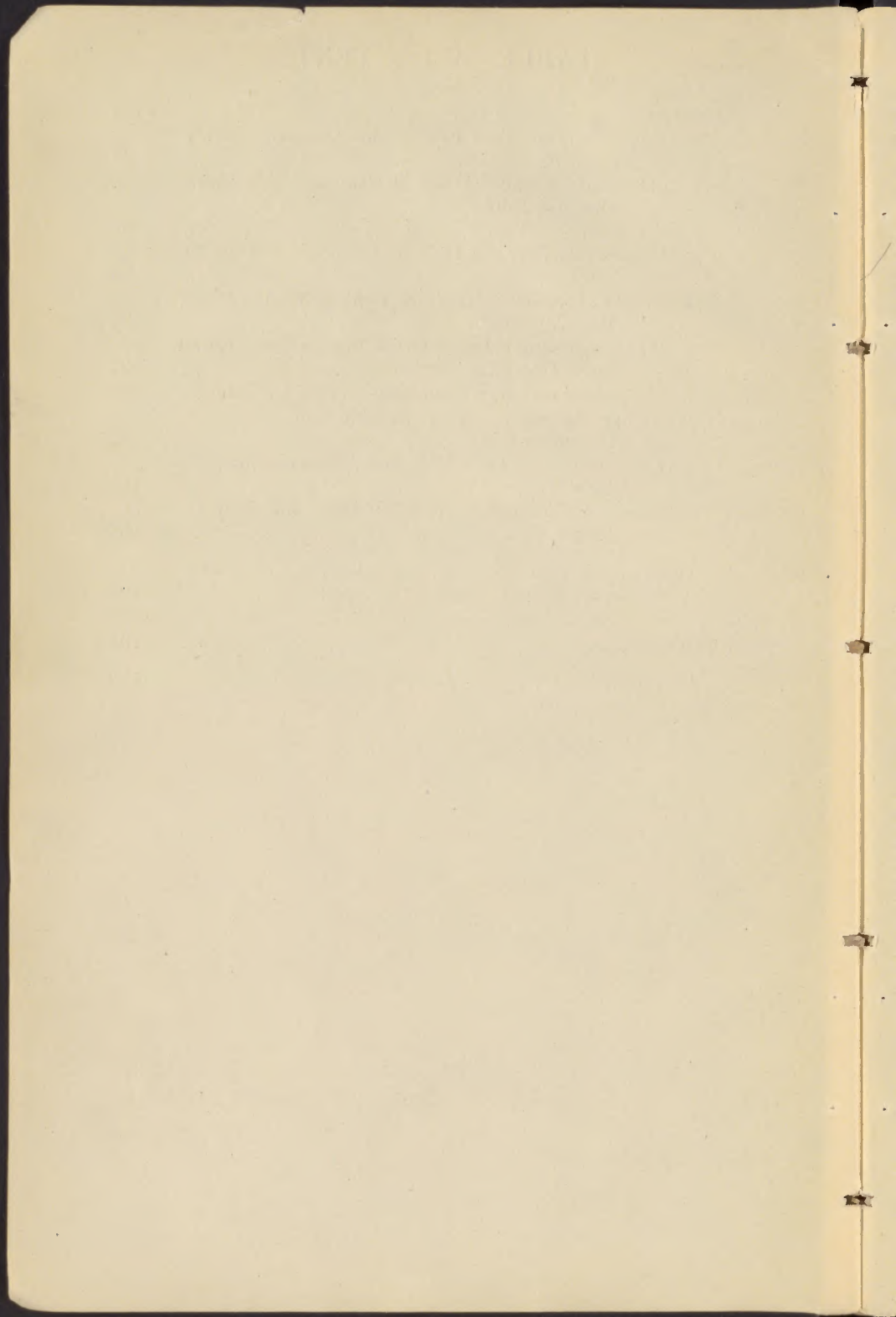
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I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) POSITION AND FRONTIERS

THE Empire of Ethiopia, commonly known as Abyssinia, lies between 3° and 15° north latitude, and 33° and 47° or 48° east longitude. Its total area is estimated at 350,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north and north-east by the Italian protectorate of Eritrea; on the west by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; on the south by Italian Somaliland and British East Africa; and on the east by French and British Somaliland.

Between Eritrea and Abyssinia the boundary runs north-west from Daddato 30–40 miles inland parallel to the Red Sea coast; it then crosses the Assale Plain of Salt and follows the rivers Endeli, Mai Muna, Belesa, and Mareb westwards to the junction between the Mareb and the Mai Ambesa, thence turning south-west to the confluence of the Mai Tomsa and the Setit, following the latter to a point east of Umbrega, where it is joined by the Khor Royan.

Between the Sudan and Abyssinia the boundary runs south-south-west past Gallabat, and at Mt. Magbara turns west as far as Meshra Haskanit; it then again goes south-south-west across the River Dinder, and reaches the Abbai (or Blue Nile) at Bumbade. Its course continues very irregularly towards Beni Shangu, and near Belad Deroz it turns north-west to Jebel Kashangaru, thence south as far as the River Jokau. It now descends the Jokau and the Baro, ascends the Pibor to Akobo Post, the Akobo to a little beyond Ilemi (Melile), and the Kaia to its source, thence striking south and then east to join the Kibish, down which it runs to Sanderson Gulf on Lake Rudolf.

Between Kenya and Abyssinia the boundary crosses Lake Rudolf to the eastern shore, and passes to near the south end of Lake Stefanie; it then runs south-east as far as Jebel Kuffole, round the face of the Goro Scarp, and at Ursulli reaches the Dawa which it follows to Dolo.

Between Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia the boundary runs almost due east to a point where the Rahanwein (dependent on Italy) meet the Abyssinian tribes, and thence north-eastwards across the Webi Shebeli, near Burhilli, as far as the intersection of longitude 48° east¹ with 8° north latitude.

Between British Somaliland and Abyssinia the boundary runs from this point west-north-west to Arran Arrhe, then north-west to Somadu, where it turns north-east to a point near Jallelo in 11° north latitude.

Between French Somaliland and Abyssinia the frontier runs in a series of angles and curves, roughly parallel to the coast of the Gulf of Tajura, till it reaches Daddato.²

It will be seen that the present Empire of Abyssinia is in no sense a geographical unit, and its access to the sea has been blocked by the European protectorates of the coast.

(2) SURFACE AND RIVER SYSTEM

Surface

The country may be approximately divided for the purposes of this survey by the parallel of 9° north latitude and the meridian of 40° east longitude. This partition results in four unequal areas, containing (1) on the north-east, the Danakil lowlands; (2) on the south-east, the Somali plateau, beginning in the hills of Harrar, and gradually declining towards the

¹ According to the Convention of 1908 (Appendix I, xiv) the point at which the boundary met the parallel remained at or near 47° east, but a delimitation which took place in 1911 appears to have shifted it to 48° east.

² See for details *French Somaliland*, No. 109 of this series.

Indian Ocean; (3) on the south-west, the Eastern Rift valley and the highlands of the Galla country, sinking towards the Sobat plain; (4) on the north-west, the high plateau of ancient Ethiopia, from Addis Abbaba to the Eritrean and Sudanese frontiers.

(1) Of these four sections the north-eastern is the smallest in area, and consists of the great Danakil region, a barren waste in which many rivers lose themselves in the sandy and rocky desert. The great eastern escarpment of the Abyssinian plateau, running north and south with a mean height of 7,000–8,000 ft., bounds the Danakil plain on the west; and on the south the Harrar range, taking a slightly north-east direction, separates it from the Somali plateau. In the north lie Lake Assale and the Plain of Salt, 400 ft. below sea-level. Across the south of the region runs the River Hawash, descending from the high plateau, and joined by numerous tributaries from the Abyssinian and Harrar escarpments. The Hawash and many of the rivers in this district lose themselves in the depression of Lake Aussa (Abde-Bad), which lies 60–70 miles from the head of Tajura Bay.

(2) The section lying south of this has an entirely different character. North of Harrar the hills run down in savanna to the Hawash valley, while round Harrar itself lie fertile country and forest. To the east of Harrar prairie country stretches across the frontier towards Hargeisa.

Southward a vast limestone plateau falls away in monotonous expanses of savanna and waterless desert, only in the north attaining to any height (3,000 ft.). On the east lie the districts of the Haud and Ogaden, both of these merging into desert in their eastern parts. The Webi Shebéli valley is fertile and well wooded, and below Imi the alluvial flats are extensively cultivated, but between the Webi Shebéli and the Juba the plain is sterile and covered with mimosa bush. To the west again, beyond the Ganale Doria, the desert of the Liban country falls gradually to the south. All this district is very little known.

(3) The third or south-western region contains on the east a high plateau and a series of peaks reaching 11,500 ft., among which rise the Webbi, Ganale Doria, and Dawa, together with the Hawash and several of its tributaries. South of these mountains lies the fertile and well-watered Sidamo plateau, 6,000 ft. above the sea, and farther south the waterless Boran desert. On the extreme southern border is the Goro escarpment. Running across the whole of this section is the Eastern Rift Valley with its lakes and high mountain-walls. The highest point of the Rift valley chain is Mt. Guge (13,700 ft.), and all the country west of this chain is high and mountainous, and much cut up by rivers. Beyond the River Dincha the surface sinks towards the Sudan and the Sobat plain. This mountainous district contains much cultivated land, and even at high levels there are large tracts of forest.

The lakes of the Rift valley are of very little importance. The rivers connecting them are dry for part of the year, but the lakes are always full. The banks of Lake Zwai are fertile, and its waters are fresh; the other lakes are salt or strongly impregnated with soda.

(4) The fourth or north-western division comprises the Abyssinian high plateau, from the eastern scarp to the Sudan plain, and extending from Addis Abbaba in the south to the Eritrean frontier. This section is wholly mountainous except on its western border, where the plateau descends to the plain in a series of terraces. The average height of the high plateau is 5,000-6,000 ft., and all the water upon it drains to the west, to join the Abbai or the Atbara.

This plateau, or Abyssinia proper, though a mountain-country, differs entirely in character from European mountain-countries such as Switzerland. In Switzerland the heights are barren peaks, the valleys fairly broad and fertile. In Abyssinia all this is reversed. The heights are mostly open plateaux, the valleys jungle-choked gorges or canyons of great depth. The population lives on the plateau, and the lines of communication follow the high ground, the valleys being formidable obstacles to traffic.

The highest country in this part is Simyen, where it has been estimated that the heights reach 15,500 ft. The highlands of Gojjam, Shoa, Wogera, and Lasta reach 8,000-9,000 ft. and the river bottoms are not infrequently 2,000 or more feet below the general level.

River System

Owing to the general slope of the Abyssinian plateau towards the west, most of the river systems naturally drain in that direction. The most important of these western-flowing rivers are the Abbai or Blue Nile, the Omo, and the Takkazye. The Hawash is the only important river flowing towards the Red Sea. The chief rivers flowing south and south-east are the Dawa, the Ganale Doria, and the Webi Shebeli.

The *Abbai* or *Blue Nile* is by far the most important river. During its upper course, which drains nearly all the central part of the plateau, it flows like all the streams of the high plateau rapidly and with many cataracts and rapids at the bottom of a deep gorge. The headwaters of the Abbai rise in the Gojjam highlands 7,000 ft. above sea-level, and enter Lake Tsana, which has an altitude of 6,000 ft., an area of 1,350 square miles, and in places a depth of 40 fathoms. The river pursues a winding course in a direction which lies roughly south-east, south, west, and north-west, and receives many tributaries, its course becoming more sluggish as it reaches the plains. It enters the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at a point about 35° east and $11^{\circ} 15'$ north. The fertilizing qualities of the Nile floods are mainly due to the abundance of rich deposits conveyed by the waters of the Abbai. Lake Tsana is of great importance to Egypt, and the British Government have certain treaty rights respecting it (see p. 42). There is a bridge, 15 ft. wide, crossing the Abbai below the falls, which occur soon after it leaves the lake. The river often runs low but never dry, and is always difficult to cross.

All the plateau-country north of the Abbai basin is drained by the Atbara system, of which the *Takkazye* is the chief member. The Takkazye (the true course of the

upper Atbara) rises in the Lasta mountains at an altitude of about 7,000 ft., and flows through a deep gorge until it leaves the mountain-country and joins the Atbara in the Sudan. Like most Abyssinian rivers it is impassable in flood-time (July–October). Its upper and middle waters are perennial; the lower flow for only three months in the year and are then impassable.

The south part of the plateau is drained by the *Omo* system. The *Omo* rises near Lake Choma and pursues a winding southerly course, flowing into Lake Rudolf near its most northern point. It is a rapid river navigable for only a short distance from its mouth. On the hills to the west of the Rift lakes several streams rise and flow westwards towards the Sobat.

The greater part of the *Hawash* flows in low country away from the plateau, though its head-waters rise in the high mountains near Addis Abbaba. It drains the country south of Addis Abbaba, and then, turning north-east, collects numerous affluents from the high eastern escarpment of the plateau on the one hand and from the Harrar range on the other. It is a wide river, and 4 ft. deep even in the dry season. Its chief affluent is the Kassam, which flows nearly due east from the neighbourhood of Addis Abbaba. After a course of 500 miles the *Hawash* loses itself in Lake *Aussa* (Abde-Bad), nearly 70 miles from Tajura Bay.

The rivers of the south-east have a totally different character. This part of the country is dry compared with the plateau, and includes great spaces of waterless and barren ground. The *Webi Shebéli* system, rising in the Harrar range and the heights south-east of the Rift valley, has a catchment basin of 100,000 square miles, and drains nearly a quarter of Abyssinia. The *Webi Shebéli* runs for the greater part of its length through alluvial flats, wooded and cultivated. It is navigable, but loses itself in a swamp near the Indian Ocean, on the borders of Kenya and Italian Somaliland.

West of the *Webi Shebéli*, the country south of Mt. Sirka is drained by the *Web* and the *Ganale Doria*,

rivers which run roughly parallel until they converge and meet at a point near the frontiers of Abyssinia, Italian Somaliland, and Kenya, where they join the Dawa, and become the *Juba*, which is navigable for small steamers.

The rivers of the plateau offer serious obstacles to travel, bridges being extremely rare. The water-power is enormous, and might become very valuable, although all rivers are subject to violent rises and falls. Those which flow through gorges rise in the rainy season 40 ft. or more, while those with wider beds flood the country round. With the introduction of a system of bridges, travel would not be confined, as it is now, to the dry season of the year.

(3) CLIMATE

There are two seasons: the dry, lasting from November to March; and the rainy, due to a south-westerly current from the equatorial zone meeting the high Abyssinian tableland, from March to October. On the lowland plain (Danakil country) the rainy season is from October to April, due to a south-easterly current from the Red Sea (cf. *Eritrea*, No. 126 of this series, p. 6).

The rainfall, especially on the plateau, is heavy compared with that of the Sudan; otherwise the climates are similar. Rain begins on the western highlands in March, extending north-east in April; in May it increases, and in June the heaviest rainfall begins, continuing till August. By October nearly all rain has ceased except in the south-west districts, and the coastal rains begin, spreading as far inland as Addis Abbaba.

Though the climate is a typically tropical one, it varies greatly owing to the differences of altitude. The temperature is low compared with that of the Sudan or the Red Sea coast, the highest recorded mean daily maximum being 94° F. (34½° C.). The greatest degree of heat occurs in April, May, and June; the lowest in September and October.

In winter north and north-east winds blow over the west and south-west country, while south and south-east winds prevail on the eastern side; by May south and south-west winds set in north of 10° north latitude and north and north-east winds reach Massawa. By June the south-west current blows over the Sudan south of 18° north latitude until October, and in November north winds prevail again.

Owing to the mountainous country, wind observations are not necessarily reliable; but it is probable that during the winter the general direction of the current is from the south-west and west. By April the west is predominant, becoming north-west till October, and then gradually returning to south-west again.

(4) SANITARY CONDITIONS

Among the natives malaria, syphilis, and diarrhœal complaints are the commonest diseases. Malaria is at its worst at sea-level and up to 3,000 ft., and in August, September, and October. It is extremely rare above 6,000 ft. Diarrhœal diseases include cholera (rare), typhoid (occasionally imported), tapeworm (very common, owing to the native custom of eating raw meat), and both kinds of dysentery. Phagedaena (tropical ulcer) is common, especially on the plateau. Guinea-worm is common along the coast, especially in marshy parts, and jiggers doubtless occur. Other diseases met with are relapsing fever (tick fever), dengue, filariasis, bilharziosis, leprosy, and oriental sore. Non-tropical diseases are not more common here than elsewhere, and phthisis is rarer than in Europe.

Abyssinia is believed to be free from plague, typhus, sleeping-sickness, black-water fever, and cerebro-spinal fever.

With careful living and proper attention to general rules of health, all the commonest diseases can be avoided; and the plateau-country may even be considered healthy.

(5) RACE AND LANGUAGE

Race

The population is 85-90 per cent. Hamitic. The Hamite race, which inhabits almost the whole of north and north-east Africa, is always distinguishable from the negro peoples by its comparatively European type of face, though the colour varies greatly. This race, invading Abyssinia and mingling with the aboriginal dwellers, laid the foundation (probably before 5,000 B.C.) of the modern Abyssinian population. This branch of the Hamitic race is known as Cushite, and the original stock is still found in a fairly pure form in certain tribes. During the second millennium B.C. Semitic invasions took place, and, though the Cushite racial type does not seem to have been modified, Semitic traces can still be discovered in its language and civilization. Some Cushite tribes, especially in the south, escaped these Semitic influences. Another important invasion, that of the Gallas, who probably came from the south shores of the Gulf of Aden, took place in the sixteenth century, and a large proportion of Abyssinia is still populated by Galla tribes living in subjection to the Abyssinian rule. The Gallas, Somalis, and Danakils are all Hamitic but distinct from Cushite. The remainder of the population is negro, called by the Abyssinians Shankalla, a greatly varying race formed of a mixture of Cushite and negro elements.

The Hamitic *Abyssinian* race occupies most of the country north of Addis Abbaba and west of the Danakil country, but in this area there are also not only a large Galla population but also certain other Cushite tribes, mostly pagan, speaking the original Hamitic tongue instead of the Semitized language (Amharic) used by the true Abyssinian.

The *Gallas*, occupying south and south-west Abyssinia, extend southward from the Harrar plateau and as far west as Lake Stefanie; to the north they occupy the Wollo Galla country north of Shoa and also spread through Shoa to Wallega. In type they are strongly

built, with round heads, high foreheads, and regular features; their colour varies greatly. They are the most intelligent of the non-Cushite races, and since they invaded the country have become more than once the dominant race; but their want of racial unity has made it possible for them to be defeated by the Abyssinians and kept in subjection. They are pagans, but have been in part Mohammedanized.

The *Somalis*, probably Hamitic immigrants from Yemen, are nomadic Moslems. They occupy the country east and north of Harrar, extending across the eastern and south-eastern frontier to the coast.

The *Danakils* are a nomadic Moslem race deriving from the Arabian Hamites. They are of middle height, with Semitic features, and said to be noticeably handsome and melancholy in appearance. They are extremely wild and fanatical.

The *Shankallas* (Amharic for "negro": a mere collective term, not implying racial unity) occupy a wide strip of territory roughly following the western frontier of the country from the Eritrean boundary to the shore of Lake Stefanie. They represent varying degrees of Hamitic and negro combinations; their religion also varies from different forms of paganism to Mohammedanism, and they are either agricultural or pastoral according to the country they inhabit. All tribes known as Shankallas are primitive compared with the rest of the Abyssinian population.

The *Falasha* tribe is distinct from all the others in having been strongly influenced by Judaism of a very early type, although pure Cushite in descent. Judaism still survives, although it is now tinged with paganism.

Language

The languages spoken in Abyssinia may be classed as (1) Semitized Cushite, (2) non-Semitized Cushite, (3) Hamitic, with the exception of those classed under (2), (4) Shankalla.

Of the first group, there are four chief languages, excluding Arabic, which is used as a commercial

language. These are : *Amharic*, used officially all over Abyssinia; *Ge'ez*, the ancient North Abyssinian, now the liturgical language of the Church, of which Tigre and Tigrinya are descendants; *Harrari*, spoken at Harrar, and *Gurage*, including many widely differing dialects, spoken in the Gurage country. Of the second group, a great number of languages exist, which are spoken on all parts of the plateau from Eritrea to the south-east of the Rift valley. The Falashas have no language of their own. The third group includes the languages of the *Somalis*, *Danakils*, and *Gallas*, spoken all over the Galla country. The *Shankallas* have a great number of languages, practically each tribe speaking a tongue or dialect of its own; some of these have Hamitic and Nubian elements.

(6) POPULATION

The population of Abyssinia is estimated at from four to eight millions, but there are no precise statistics. With the exception of Harrar, there are no towns in our sense of the word in Abyssinia; even Addis Abbaba, the capital, consisting of a series of villages scattered round the palace, and occupying a length of about three miles. Politically and commercially the most important settlements, with their estimated populations, are: Addis Abbaba (70,000-80,000)¹; Harrar (50,000, including 300 Europeans); Gondar (3,000); Adowa (Adoa, Adua, 5,000); Ankober (2,000); Debra Tabor and Magdala or Makalle (3,000-4,000 each); Sokota (1,500); Mahdera Maryam (Mahadera Mariam, 4,000).

At Dire Dawa (Dirre Daua) an important railway centre, there is a considerable number of Europeans.

¹ See below, p. 75.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- 451 Council of Chalcedon.
- 525 Conquest of Yemen by El-Esbaha.
- 615 Disciples of Mohammed take refuge at Aksum.
- 937-77 Falasha usurpation.
- 977-1268 Rule of House of Zagwe.
- 1268 Restoration of Dynasty of Solomon.
- 1439 Council of Florence attended by Abyssinian priests.
- 1490 Portuguese mission to the Negus.
- 1543 Defeat and death of Mohammed Grañ.
- 1632-35 Expulsion of Jesuits.
- 1680-1704 Yäsu I.
- 1721-30 Batafa.
- 1768 Ascendancy of Ras Mikael of Tigre.
- 1769 James Bruce visits Abyssinia.
- 1795-1847 Sehala Selassye, King of Shoa.
- 1798 French expedition to Egypt.
- 1809 Salt brings presents from George III.
- 1816 Death of Ras Woldo Selassye of Tigre.
- 1818(?) Birth of Kassa (Theodore II).
- 1819 Death of Ras Gugsä of Gondar.
- 1829 Beginning of missionary activity.
- 1838 Expulsion of Protestant missionaries.
- 1839 Great Britain occupies Aden. French scientific mission visits Abyssinia. French company purchases Edd.
- 1841 Letter and presents sent to Queen Victoria. Treaty between East India Company and Sehala Selassye.
- 1843 Bell and Plowden visit Abyssinia.
- 1847 Plowden appointed British Consul in Abyssinia.
- 1849 Commercial treaty with Ras Ali.
- 1853 Abortive commercial treaty with Austria.
- 1854 Kassa elected Emperor as Theodore II.
- 1855-68 Reign of Theodore II.
- 1858 Rebellion in Tigre.
- 1860 Deaths of Bell and Plowden.

- 1862 Cameron succeeds Plowden. The Galla War.
1863 Ismail becomes Khedive.
1864 Imprisonment of Europeans.
1866 Sehala Mariam (Menelik II), King of Shoa.
1868 The Abyssinian expedition. Death of Theodore.
1869 Opening of Suez Canal.
1869-70 Italians in Eritrea.
1872-89 Reign of John IV.
1875 Egyptian invasion defeated.
1876 John IV defeats Ismail.
1878 John IV attacks Menelik.
1879 Gordon's visit to John. Deposition of Ismail.
1882 Agreement between John and Menelik. Revolt of Arabi.
Italians take over Eritrea.
1883 Italian treaty with Menelik. Mahdist rebellion in Sudan.
1884 Treaty between Abyssinia, Egypt, and Great Britain.
1886-87 Menelik conquers Harrar.
1887 John's hostilities with Italians. Dervishes sack Gondar.
1889 John defeats Dervishes at Metemma and is killed.
1889-1913 Reign of Menelik II.
1889 Treaty of Ucciali.
1891 and 1894 Italian agreements with Great Britain as to Eritrea.
1893 Menelik denounces treaty of Ucciali.
1894 Baratieri's campaign against the Dervishes. Capture of Kassala. Menelik grants authority for railway to Jibuti.
1895 Baratieri defeats the Tigreans.
1895-96 Italian campaign against Abyssinia.
1896 (March 1). Defeat of Italians at Adowa.
(October 26) Peace of Addis Abbaba.
1897 Convention between France and Abyssinia. Rodd's mission to Menelik. Treaty between Great Britain and Abyssinia as to British Somaliland frontier. Jibuti railway begun. Turkish and Russian missions to Menelik.
1897-98 Abyssinian expeditions of conquest and annexation.
1898 Franco-Abyssinian expedition reaches the White Nile.
1900 Abyssinian treaty with Italy as to frontier of Eritrea.
1901-04 Abyssinia co-operates with Great Britain against the Mullah.
1902 Ras Makonnen's mission to Paris and London. Anglo-Italo-Abyssinian treaty as to frontier of Eritrea.
1905 Abyssinian treaty of commerce with Germany and Austria-Hungary.
1906 Tripartite treaty (Great Britain, France, and Italy). Abyssinian treaty with Italy.
1907 Liquidation of Jibuti Railway Company. Frontier between Abyssinia and British East Africa defined by treaty.

- 1908 New French company for Jibuti Railway formed. Italo-Abyssinian treaty (Eritrean and Somaliland frontiers). Breakdown of Menelik's health; he nominates Lij Yasu his successor. Commercial treaty with France.
- 1908-11 Regency of Tesamma.
- 1911-16 Reign of Lij Yasu.
- 1913 Death of Menelik.
- 1916 Revolution; accession of Zauditu.
- 1917 Jibuti Railway reaches Akaki.
- 1918 Jibuti Railway reaches Addis Abbaba.

i. INTRODUCTION. SUMMARY OF EARLY HISTORY

In the case of every nation where remains of ancient civilization exist side by side with a general state of decadence, tradition will always be found to play a more or less prominent part in national politics. In Abyssinia, a country isolated geographically, which for long periods has been "the world forgetting, by the world forgot," this is conspicuously the case; and a claim—however badly founded—to descent from the ancient dynasty of the Kings of Aksum has always carried weight in strengthening the position of the chiefs who have aspired to the Imperial Throne. Historically, the origin of the Kingdom of Aksum is unknown, though it can be traced back as far as the first century A.D.; but, traditionally, the race of kings who governed Aksum, and at a later period became Emperors of Abyssinia, is said to have sprung from Menelik (or Ebna Hakim) I, the son of Solomon and Makeda (or Balkis), the Queen of Sheba.

The survival of various Jewish customs and the existence of the Falashas, a Jewish race which gave rulers to the province of Simyen until a late period and still exists in scattered communities, was accounted for by the tradition that Makeda took back with her from Palestine Azariah, the son of the High Priest Zadok, accompanied by 1,000 Jews from each of the twelve tribes. Based on these legends, which had taken deep root so far back as the beginning of the

fourteenth century, are various lists—often contradictory—of Kings of the House of Solomon, ruling first in Aksum and later at various other places, and eventually in the seventeenth century making their capital at Gondar. In the middle of the fourth century Christianity was introduced by Frumentius (Abba Salama), who was consecrated first Bishop of Aksum by Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria. About a century later the monophysite form of Christianity seems to have become the established religion. This heresy (which maintains the single nature of Christ) was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), but it is still held by the Abyssinian Church, the heads (Abunas) of which are always selected from among the monks of the Monastery of St. Anthony, in the Egyptian Desert, and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch.

In 525 El-Esbaha (or Caleb) conquered Yemen, which remained in Abyssinian hands for over seventy years. Aksum was now at the height of its power, and El-Esbaha is said to have been the first to assume the title of Emperor, or Negus Nagasti (King of Kings). With the rise of Mohammedanism in the seventh century the fortunes of Abyssinia entered on a long course of decline. In 615 Aksum had given refuge to the first disciples of the Prophet, fleeing from persecutions at Mecca. Possibly in gratitude for this, Mohammed never invaded Abyssinia, though the country was soon surrounded by a ring of Mohammedan States.

In 937 a revolution of the Agaus and Falashas under Judith (Ether, Esat, or Terda-Gobaz), Queen of Simyen, drove the Emperor Del-Naod from the throne, which was occupied by her and her daughter until 977. Del-Naod took refuge in Shoa, where he and his descendants ruled until the thirteenth century. In 977 the Falasha usurpation was ended by Mara Tekla Haimanot (or El-Kera), of Lasta. He founded the dynasty of the House of Zagwe, which ruled Abyssinia (with the exception of Shoa) until 1268,

when Naakweto Laab abdicated in favour of the dynasty of Solomon in the person of Yekuno Amlak, the descendant of Del-Naod, then reigning in Shoa. The race of Zagwe still continued to rule Lasta (probably by descendants in the female line) until 1768.

During the Papacy of Clement V (1305-14), an embassy from Abyssinia is said to have been sent, for some unknown reason, to Avignon. Of more historical importance was the presence at the Council of Florence in 1439 of two priests, sent from the Abyssinian monastery at Jerusalem to discuss the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. This led to communications being opened with both Rome and Portugal; and in 1490 Pedro de Covilhão was sent by John II of Portugal to visit the Negus Alexander at Tegulet. The connection with Lisbon thus established had important results; for it enabled the Abyssinian rulers to obtain assistance against the Mohammedan invasion, which, led by Mohammed Grañ, Emir of Harrar, was a constant danger to the country from 1528 until the defeat of Mohammed Grañ by the Negus Claudius at Woina Dega in 1543. A less beneficial result was the despatch of Jesuit missions, which led to long conflicts between the religious factions, only ended by the expulsion of the Jesuits at the hands of Fasiladas (Basil) (1632-65), when the country was once more closed to Europeans. Under Yasu I (1680-1704) communications began to be reopened; but his death heralded a period of profound decline and disorder, only temporarily arrested during the reign of Batafa (1721-30), the last monarch who displayed any energy.

During the next hundred years the Emperors gradually became more and more puppets in the hands of the dominant chiefs. It was the custom to imprison all possible claimants to the throne during the lifetime of the reigning Emperor. On his death or deposition, the great Rases chose a successor from his imprisoned relations; either a child or a very old man was generally selected, in the former case with a Council of Regency. From 1768 the practical ruler

of the country was Ras Mikael of Tigre, whose capital was at Adowa. Mikael's power was overthrown by two of his chiefs, Gugsä and Woldo Wassan. Emperors were made and dethroned every few years, so that in 1800 no fewer than six were living.

ii. THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. RISE OF
THEODORE

The wars of Woldo Selassye, Ras of Tigre (ob. 1816), and Gugsä, Ras of Gondar (ob. 1819), occupied the early years of the century. The former was for a time virtually ruler; but after his death the power passed to Gugsä, and from him to his son Marié. Tigre was now under Sabagadis; and a fresh power had arisen in the person of Dejazmach Ubye, of Simyen. In 1831 both Sabagadis and Marié were killed in battle, and Ubye was faced by Gugsä's youthful grandson, Ali, and by his masterful mother, Waizaro Manan (by origin a Mohammedan Galla), who placed on the throne and married John III (called "the Idiot"), the last of the shadowy race of Emperors who nominally ruled from the ruined palace of Gondar. About 1840 the situation was approximately this: *Tigre* was governed by Ubye of Simyen; *Amhara* and the central provinces by Ali, who controlled the titular Emperor at Gondar; *Gojjam* was under Dejaz Goshu (more or less allied with Ali); *Shoa* was an independent kingdom under its hereditary ruler, Sehala Selassye.

At this juncture the history of Abyssinia entered on a new course owing to the appearance on the scene of Kassa (afterwards King Theodore). He was born about 1818, the son of Dejaz Haile Mariam, a small chief of Kwara, who died when Kassa was a child, leaving his widow so poor that, in spite of the royal descent which was claimed for her, she had to gain her living by selling *kusso* (a vermifuge drug) in the streets of Gondar, while Kassa was placed in a monastery on Lake Tsana. Soon afterwards the

monastery was sacked during one of the frequent disturbances of the country; and Kassa, escaping the massacre that ensued, took refuge in Kwara with his uncle, Dejaz Kenfu, a distinguished soldier. With him Kassa lived until his death, when Kwara fell into the hands of Dejaz Goshu of Gojjam. Kassa next became a kind of bandit on the road between Gondar and Gallabat. He was so successful that he was gradually able to seize the whole district of Dembea. This gave him such an important position that Ali (or Manan in his name) confirmed him in the possession of the province, and gave him (1847) his daughter, Tsubega, as his wife. In Dembea Kassa succeeded in defeating repeated attempts of the Egyptians to encroach on Abyssinian territory; but before long he was in revolt against Ali (then at war with Ubye), and seized Gondar, taking Manan and the Emperor prisoner. Ali was forced to make peace, leaving Gondar in the hands of Kassa.

The next few years saw a series of struggles between Ali, Kassa, and Goshu, in the course of which both Ali and Goshu were defeated and killed, the result being that by 1854 Kassa had made himself master of the whole of the central provinces, leaving Ubye of Tigre and Haile Malikot (who in 1847 had succeeded his father, Sehala Selassye, as King of Shoa) as his only opponents. During this period both the Empress Manan and her granddaughter Tsubega (Kassa's wife) died. Both Kassa and Ubye were now sufficiently powerful to aspire to the Imperial Crown, and in February 1854 a meeting of the principal chiefs and dignitaries of Tigre and Amhara was held to decide between them. Ubye seems at first to have been the favourite; and the Abuna, Salama, was willing to crown him; but after a series of intrigues, in which a prominent but unsuccessful part was taken by Monsignor de Jacobis, the head of a Roman Catholic Mission, Kassa was elected Emperor. War with Ubye followed, but Kassa was again successful. He defeated and took

Ubye prisoner at Deraskye (February, 1855); and two days later was crowned by the Abuna as Theodore II, *Negus Nagasti* of Ethiopia. He assumed the name of Theodore in consequence of an Abyssinian tradition that a ruler of that name should extirpate Mohammedanism, conquer Jerusalem, and occupy the throne of Solomon.

iii. INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPE. MISSIONS. EARLY TREATIES

Intercourse between Abyssinia and Europe in modern times practically dates from the journey of James Bruce (1769), who spent nearly two years in the north and centre, and whose account of his travels (published in 1790) aroused interest in what was then an unexplored country. After the invasion of Egypt by Bonaparte the attention of the British Government was turned to the general state of the Near East, and in 1805 a survey of the Red Sea was carried out by Lord Valentia, with the idea of securing Anfilo Bay as a port, and concluding an alliance with Abyssinia. For this purpose a visit was paid to Ras Woldo Selassye of Tigre by Henry Salt, who returned with a letter to George III, leaving two Englishmen, Pearce¹ and Coffin, at Shelikot in the service of the Ras. In 1809 Salt was sent with a letter and presents intended for the titular Emperor, which (being unable to reach Gondar) he delivered to Woldo Selassye.

From the end of 1829 onwards missionaries of various denominations began to arrive. The earliest was Samuel Gobat, sent by the Church Missionary Society, who was followed in 1834 by two Franciscan monks, sent by the Propaganda at Rome. Though at first protected by Ubye, the Protestant missionaries were expelled in 1838 owing, according to their

¹ Pearce remained in Abyssinia until 1819, when he went to Egypt.

own account, to "jealousy of the priesthood and politico-Popish intrigue," but quite as much because of their want of tact in dealing with those who professed a form of Christianity differing from their own. The Catholics (largely owing to the activity of Mgr. de Jacobis, who arrived in 1840) were more successful, with the result that Ubye fell very much under French influence, and became antagonistic to England. Apart from the mission question, this antagonism was due to the fact that Coffin had attached himself to Sabagadis, for whom he had obtained a present of guns from the British Government. Eventually Coffin entered Ubye's service, and was sent by him, in 1841, with presents and a letter to Queen Victoria, to which, however, no reply was received. Coffin was still living at Adowa in 1853. Ubye's French proclivities led to his being visited by several travellers, the chief of whom were MM. Lefebvre, Petit, Dillon, and Vignaud, sent by Louis Philippe in 1839 on a scientific mission. Ubye agreed with Lefebvre to a treaty of commerce with France and the cession of Anfilo Bay, to which he had only a shadowy claim; but these arrangements were not ratified by the French Government. An abortive commercial treaty between Ubye and Austria was made in 1853 by Dr. C. Reitz, the Austrian Consul for the East Sudan at Khartum, who travelled from Khartum to Simyen through Gallabat and Gondar, but died at Doka on the return journey.

The occupation of Aden in 1839 by Great Britain, followed by various treaties made in 1840 by Captain Robert Moiresby on behalf of the Indian Government with the Sultan of Tajura and the Governor of Zeila (then dependent on Yemen and thereby nominally Turkish), led to an attempt being made to open up communications with Shoa. This country had now for nearly a century been independent, ruled by an hereditary dynasty which traced its descent from the House of Solomon through the female line. The King at this time was Sehala Selassye (1795-1847), who

had conquered the Gurage country and part of the Galla States, and made Shoa a comparatively rich and powerful country. An embassy, under Major (afterwards Sir) W. Cornwallis Harris, was accordingly sent to him by the East Indian Government, and a treaty was executed (November 16, 1841).¹ At Angolala (then the Shoan capital) the British Mission met Rochet d'Héricourt, who in the course of two journeys brought presents (cannon, guns, &c.) from Louis Philippe, and obtained (1843) from Sehala Selassye a treaty with France similar to that entered into with the Indian Government, with the addition that the French King assumed the protection at Jerusalem of Shoan pilgrims. About 1839 a French vessel was sent by the Compagnie Nanto-Bordelaise to buy a port in the Red Sea, and by a treaty with the local Danakil chiefs the village of Edd, with a district extending three leagues inland, was bought for 2,000 dollars. The Porte, which claimed the whole littoral, protested, and the treaty was repudiated by the French Government; but the rights of the purchasers to the soil were not questioned, and they were transferred to Degoutin, the French Consul (1838), at Massawa. He in turn transferred them in 1857 to Pastié and Co. (of Marseilles and Alexandria), who in 1862 still claimed them.

By all these transactions French influence gained ascendancy in Tigre and Shoa; but in the central provinces the balance of interest fell to Great Britain. This was mainly owing to two adventurous Englishmen, John Bell and Walter Chichele Plowden, who in 1843 entered Abyssinia with a view to exploration. In 1847 Plowden returned to England, and was appointed by Lord Palmerston Consul in Abyssinia. In 1848 he was sent on a mission to Ras Ali, with whom he concluded a treaty of commerce (November 1849), which, as Ali truly remarked when he signed it,

¹ Printed in *Extracts of Correspondence*, by order of the House of Commons, February 22, 1844, No. 54.

appeared perfectly useless. Bell remained with Ali until his defeat by Kassa, when he went over to the latter, who thus became friendly with both Englishmen. The treaty with Ali remained a dead letter, and was never ratified by Kassa after he became Emperor, though both Bell and Plowden, by their personal influence, inclined Theodore more to alliance with England than with France, which had supported Ubye.

In all these early treaties with the rival powers of Abyssinia the question of access to the coast seems to have been neglected. Though the Emperors of Abyssinia claimed jurisdiction as far as the sea, the whole coast from Suez to Mersa Dongola (21° N.) had been in the Pashalik of Egypt ever since the fifteenth century, while south of 21° the Porte claimed the coast as far as Zeila ($11^{\circ} 2' \text{ N.}$). The Turkish occupation (except at Massawa, which formed the natural door for commerce with Tigre and North Abyssinia) was, generally speaking, nominal, and the various Danakil chiefs whose districts touched the coast were practically independent both of the Porte and of Abyssinia.

iv. REIGN OF THEODORE (1855-68)

At the beginning of his reign Theodore seemed likely to prove a strong and wise ruler. Of great personal courage, he had gained the throne by means of what was practically a standing army, not only subject to discipline, but also inspired by a personal attachment to its leader. He attempted to introduce various reforms, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the regulation of Customs and dues, and to break up the provinces into smaller administrative units under governors appointed by himself. In these years he was strongly attached to the Abyssinian Church and seems to have really believed himself to be the promised Theodore who should occupy the throne of Solomon. But his good qualities were not

sufficient to restrain his inordinate pride and violent temper. At his best he was little more than a very noble savage; at his worst he was a bloodthirsty tyrant. It was hardly possible to deal with such a man by the ordinary methods of diplomacy, and the attempt to do so led to the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868.

After his coronation Theodore led his army against Shoa, in order to bring that kingdom back beneath the sway of the Abyssinian Empire. The King of Shoa, Haile Malikot, died just before meeting Theodore in battle; so the country was conquered almost without a blow, and Haile Malikot's son, Sehala Mariam (the future Emperor Menelik II) was carried off by Theodore to Gondar, and later to Magdala. In 1856 a new Protestant mission from Basel, consisting mostly of lay handicraftsmen, was received favourably and allowed to settle at Gassat, near Debra Tabor; their instructions were to pursue their own work and confine their proselytizing efforts to the distribution of the Scriptures.

In 1858 a formidable rebellion broke out in Tigre. This was headed by Negussye (a nephew of Ubye), who proclaimed himself Negus and, supported by Mgr. de Jacobis and the French Consul at Massawa, entered into relations with Napoleon III. Negussye ceded to France the island of Desse with the port of Zula (Adulis), in Annesley Bay, though both were owned by the Hazorta tribe, who nominally paid tribute to the Turkish Governor of Massawa. A Captain de Russel was sent by the French Government to regularize this matter and open up intercourse with Negussye, but barely escaped with his life (February 1860). In 1860 Theodore lost his two English friends, Walter Plowden and John Bell, both killed in the Tigre rebellion: their deaths were revenged by a massacre of 1,700 prisoners; and in January 1861 Negussye himself was taken prisoner and executed. Campaigns against the Wollo Galla, revolts in Gojjam, Shoa, and Kwara constantly occupied Theodore

during the next few years. He had lost his wife, Tsubega, and married Teru Worq, a daughter of Ubye, from whom he soon became estranged. His character now deteriorated steadily. He gave way to drink, lived openly with a Galla concubine, and looked upon himself as the "scourge of God," destined to punish Ethiopia for not accepting him as a heaven-sent ruler. The Galla War of 1862 was followed by horrible massacres; prisoners were maimed and burnt alive, and churches were destroyed. Theodore's cruelties made him detested by both friends and foes.

It was about this time (1862) that Captain Cameron arrived as Plowden's successor. Theodore had previously written to Queen Victoria and to Napoleon III proposing embassies. From the former no answer was received; and the reply from the Emperor of the French contained expressions which wounded Theodore's pride. In 1863 the French Consul (Lejean), who was sent to negotiate a treaty, was imprisoned and expelled; English missionaries, sent from a London Society to the Jewish Falashas, gave offence to Theodore and were arrested; Cameron fell under suspicion and was also imprisoned (1864); and finally all the Europeans in the country were imprisoned in Magdala. Official intercourse with the Emperor, which had been carried on smoothly while Lord Clarendon was at the Foreign Office, was mismanaged from the first by his successor, Earl Russell, and matters were not improved by the despatch of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Levantine, to obtain the release of the prisoners. Though at first favourably received (1866), he soon fell under Theodore's suspicion, and was imprisoned with the rest of the captives. Every effort was now made to obtain their release, and at last it was found necessary to resort to force. During these years Theodore's position became worse and worse. In 1863, in order to keep it from insurrection, the army was allowed to devastate fourteen provinces; conspiracies were rife; Tigre rose under Goldja Kassa (the future John IV) and Wagshum Gobazye; in 1864 Theodore forbade the

practice of the Mohammedan religion, and declared rebels all Moslems who refused to be converted; in 1866 Sehala Mariam (Menelik II) escaped from Magdala, killed Theodore's governor, and proclaimed himself King of Shoa, assuming the Imperial name of Menelik and thus openly avowing his ambition to succeed to the Imperial throne. The Wollo Galla, in spite of repeated campaigns against them, still remained in constant rebellion.

Such was the state of affairs when on January 7, 1868, a British and Indian force of 16,000 men, under Sir Robert Napier, landed at Annésley Bay. Much assistance to the expedition was given by Kassa. Advancing by Senafe and thence south through Enderta and Wadela, it reached the plateau before Magdala at the beginning of April. Theodore had made a hurried march from Debra Tabor, and entered Magdala, which some years previously he had made his chief stronghold. On April 10 he attacked the British and was beaten. He then attempted to negotiate; but, though consenting to release the prisoners, he refused submission to Queen Victoria. On the 13th the British force entered Magdala, with a loss of only two killed. Theodore was found dead within the gates, having blown out his brains with his own hands. The Empress Teru Worq and her young son were found at Magdala; she died on her way to the coast, and the young prince died in England a few years later. The fortress was destroyed and the town given to the Wollo Galla Queen, Mastelat. The expedition left the country in 1868, after rewarding Kassa with ordnance, small arms, and stores.

V. REIGN OF JOHN IV (1872-89)

The years immediately succeeding the death of Theodore were occupied by a struggle for supremacy over Northern Abyssinia between Kassa, who practically ruled Tigre, Wagshum Gobazye, of Lasta, who ruled Amhara from Gondar, and Ras Adal, of Gojjam. Shoa (under Menelik) was still, to all intents, indepen-

dent of the northern kingdoms, and, as Menelik made no movement, could for the moment be neglected. In 1871 Kassa, with only some 12,000 men, defeated Gobazye with an army of 60,000 near Adowa. On January 21, 1872, he was crowned Emperor at Aksum, with the title of John IV. The new Negus, who was born in 1839, was as brave as Theodore, but much more astute, and was also free from the vices of his predecessor. But throughout his reign he was surrounded by difficulties, and he never had an opportunity of showing his ability in developing his country.

The policy of Egyptian expansion which dated back to 1863, when Ismail succeeded Said as Khedive, threatened Abyssinia on almost every side. In 1869 the opening of the Suez Canal made the western coast of the Red Sea important to European Powers. Turkey had always claimed a shadowy suzerainty over the littoral from Suez to Bab-el-Mandeb; in 1865 this passed to Ismail, who (1872) seized the Bogos and Halhal country, which formed a line of communication between Massawa and the Sudan. In 1875 Egypt occupied Berbera and Harrar, where Ismail hoped to have Shoa as his ally. John was at first powerless against these aggressions, as Gojjam was still unsubdued; but he succeeded in defeating Ras Adal, whom he wisely reinstated as Governor. The Khedive is believed to have planned the entire conquest of Abyssinia, and in 1875 an expedition, under Arakel Bey, started from Massawa for the interior. John, with Ras Alula and about 50,000 men, marched to meet the Egyptians; and on November 17 the latter were caught in a trap at Gudda-Guddi (in the Mareb Valley) and practically annihilated. A new expedition, under Ismail's son Hassan, was sent in 1876, but met with no better success. A battle at Gura on March 7 resulted in a complete victory for John, and huge sums had to be paid by Egypt to ransom the prisoners taken. An attempt at peace was made by General Gordon (then Governor of the Sudan), who went on a mission to the Negus at Debra Tabor in 1879, but failed to come to

terms; he seems to have been impressed by the justice of John's complaints against Egypt. Peace was eventually made by John's yielding Keren to Egypt for an annual tribute of 8,000 dollars.

John's victory over Egypt placed him in a position to face his only remaining rival in Abyssinia. Menelik had formed some kind of alliance with the Khedive, and in 1878 John invaded Shoa, and Menelik marched to meet him. But when the two armies met their leaders came to terms without fighting. Menelik submitted, and the Negus placed his own crown on the head of his new vassal, thus recognising him as King of Shoa. In 1881 John waged an unsuccessful campaign against the Gallas. Menelik in the meantime was extending his kingdom to the south and west, where he was faced by Ras Adal, who had been crowned by John as King of Gojjam, taking the name of Tekla Haimanot. With great astuteness the Negus played on the jealousy between his vassals; in the struggle between them Menelik was victorious, whereupon John agreed (1882) to recognise his conquests, and Menelik ceded the Wollo Galla country to John. Area Selassye, the son of the Negus, was married to Menelik's daughter Zauditu, though both were quite children; and John recognised Menelik as his successor, with Area Selassye as subsequent heir to the throne.

Events in Egypt and the Sudan now once more affected Abyssinia. In 1879 Ismail had been deposed: in 1882 the revolt of Arabi led to the bombardment of Alexandria and the British occupation; the Mahdist rebellion followed, and by 1883 all the Sudan south of Khartoum was in the hands of the Dervishes. In order to withdraw the isolated Egyptian garrisons which remained in the country it was necessary to secure the assistance of John; and in 1884 Admiral Hewitt, with Mason Bey, the Governor of Massawa, went to Adowa, where a treaty¹ was signed (June 3, 1884) between Abyssinia, Egypt, and England, by

¹ Blue Book, Session February-August 1884, vol. 87, No. 1.

which free transit of British goods was allowed through Massawa; Bogos was restored to Abyssinia; the Egyptian garrisons were to be withdrawn through Abyssinia; all their stores, munitions, &c., were to be given to the Negus; and the Khedive promised facilities for the appointment of a new Abuna (the head of the Abyssinian Church, who is always sent from Egypt). A supplementary treaty of the same date between England and Abyssinia aimed at the suppression of the slave trade. Most of the garrisons were successfully rescued and brought to the coast in 1885; but Kassala was captured by the Dervishes on July 30, Ras Alula, owing to the Italian occupation of Massawa, having refused to march to its relief. Harrar, which the Egyptians had evacuated in 1884, after a short restoration of the rule of its old Emirs, was conquered by Menelik in 1886.

VI. THE ITALIANS IN ERITREA. LAST YEARS OF JOHN

In 1869-70 the Rubattino Steamship Company bought sites in Asab Bay from the local sultans as ports of call on the way to India. Further extensions of territory were made in 1879 and 1880, and in 1882 the whole was taken over by the Italian Government. Early in 1885 Massawa and Beilul were occupied, and shortly afterwards a site for a military sanatorium was occupied at Saati, about 25 kilometres west of Massawa; this was followed by the occupation of further small outposts intended to protect the caravan routes. These steps were resented by Ras Alula, the Governor of Hamasen, and in January 1887 he attacked Saati. Reinforcements were sent, but were cut up at Dogali; and the Italian garrisons were withdrawn to Massawa. In response to a letter from the Emperor to Queen Victoria, complaining, not without justice, that the Italian occupation was a violation of the Anglo-Abyssinian Treaty of 1884, Lord Salisbury

proposed to Italy to mediate, and a mission was sent under Sir Gerald Portal; but, as Portal's proposals practically amounted to a complete Abyssinian surrender, the mission proved a failure. A new expedition was sent from Italy, Massawa was fortified, and the advance posts were reoccupied and connected by a railway. John now advanced from Adowa, but did not attack the Italians. In April 1888 he retreated, in order to meet a new Dervish invasion of Amhara, where the Dervishes under Abu Angar had already sacked Gondar (August 1887) and defeated King Tekla Haimanot of Gojjam (January 1888). Another danger arose owing to the threat of a rebellion against the Negus on the part of Menelik and Tekla Haimanot. Menelik, with characteristic caution, delayed action; and John was able to reduce Gojjam and then to march against Gallabat with a large army, which attacked the Dervishes at Metemma on March 10, 1889, and had won a decisive victory when the Negus was mortally wounded. His death changed victory into a defeat. The Abyssinian army became disorganized, and the Dervishes decapitated John's body and sent it to Omdurman. John's only legitimate son, Area Selassye, had died in 1888, and the last act of the Negus had been to nominate as his successor his illegitimate son, Ras Mangasha, of Tigre, thus disregarding the arrangement made with Menelik in 1882.

vii. ACCESSION OF MENELIK (1889)

By 1889 the King of Shoa had so strengthened his position in the south that no possible rivals in the centre and north of Abyssinia could venture seriously to contest his long-foreseen claim to the Imperial throne. Ever since the early seventies Menelik had turned his attention to the systematic conquest of the rich Galla country to the south and west of his own kingdom. He had, in the early years of his reign, abandoned the time-honoured method of occasional raids, and sub-

stituted for it a more intelligent system of permanent conquest, holding all newly-acquired territories with garrisons of his own soldiers, administering them through a hierarchy of his own officials, and enriching himself at the expense of his new subjects, who were mostly reduced to the position of *gabars*, little better than serfs, and who, in return for exemption from massacre, were forced to pay tithes and render heavy personal services to their new sovereign.

All his new acquisitions and revenues Menelik quietly and steadily used for one object, and one object only—the increase of his own military power. With them he rewarded his generals and paid his soldiers, and with them he bought from the French and Italians huge supplies of arms and ammunition with which to equip his ever-growing armies. Moreover, Menelik had another important advantage over the only other serious claimant, Ras Mangasha, then a flighty youth of 25 years of age. He could trace his descent from a daughter of the Emperor David (1508-40), and therefore belonged indisputably to the House of Solomon.

Accordingly, when, in March 1889, Menelik proclaimed himself Emperor, he got himself recognised without much trouble by King Tekla Haimanot of Gojjam, and all the other great chiefs. Ras Mangasha alone, with the famous general, Ras Alula, as his sole supporter, refused to submit; they retired together to Tigre, and there for some months openly defied the authority of the new Emperor. But by November Menelik, though he had not yet overcome the Tigrine opposition, felt himself sufficiently secure of his position to have himself crowned Negus Nagasti by the Abuna Matewos at Entotto, a former capital of Shoa, instead of at Aksum, the traditional place for the coronation of the Abyssinian Emperors.

Menelik had for some years been on friendly terms with Italy. In 1883 Count Pietro Antonelli had gone to Shoa on a first mission, and had concluded a treaty, signed at Ankober, May 21, 1883, the object of which was to open up a trade route between Assab

Bay and Shoa. Other missions followed; and though John, highly suspicious of Menelik's designs, ordered him to expel all Italians from Shoa, friendly relations continued. It was, in fact, Italian support that enabled Menelik in 1887 to seize undisturbed the important province of Harrar, which the Egyptians had evacuated little more than a year before. In October of the same year Antonelli made a second treaty, by which Menelik obtained a consignment of 5,000 rifles; further requests for arms followed in 1888, in which year Antonelli returned to Shoa, arriving at Addis Abbaba ("The New Flower," built by Menelik in 1883, at the request of the Empress Taitu) shortly before the death of John. A new treaty¹ was signed at Ucciali on May 2, 1889, defining the limits of Abyssinian and Italian territory, and containing (Art. XVII) the provision that the Negus

"consents to make use of the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy in treating of all matters that may arise with other Powers or Governments."

An additional convention² followed on October 1, by which Menelik was given a loan of 4,000,000 lire, and the boundaries were changed on the basis of actual *de facto* possession, which had been altered considerably by Italian advances in the north since the signature of the Treaty of Ucciali. The important Article XVII of the May Treaty, which practically gave Italy a protectorate over Abyssinia, was formally notified by the Italian Government to the other Powers on October 11; and on January 1, 1890, by Royal Decree, a constitution was given to the Italian possessions in the Red Sea under the name of Erythrea or Eritrea.

While friendly relations were still being maintained in Shoa with Menelik, the Italian troops in the north, under General Baldissera, had proceeded to occupy the northern parts of Tigre (Hamassen, Okule Kusai, Seræ, &c.), provinces claimed by

¹ See Appendix I, i.

² See Appendix I, ii.

Mangasha, against whom Menelik had sent Ras Seyum. In January 1890 Menelik advanced on Tigre, which he divided between Ras Seyum, Mangasha (with whom he had secretly come to terms), and Meshasha Worq. The Italians, under General Orero, who had succeeded Baldissera, with their ally, Ras Sebhat of Agame, were thus brought face to face with Menelik. The Negus retired (March 19), leaving Shoan commissioners to settle the frontier question; but no agreement as to this was found possible, and discussions were broken off (March 22). Sebhat had reconquered Agame, the part of Tigre which had been given to Seyum, when further struggles were interrupted by a terrible famine which ravaged the whole country for many months. On September 27 Menelik addressed two letters to the King of Italy, in the first of which he pointed out that Article XVII of the Treaty of Ucciali differed in the Amharic and Italian texts: in the former the clause was merely in a permissive form, i.e., "*may make use of*" and not (as in Italian text) "*consents to make use of*;" the second letter referred to the frontier question. Count Antonelli was once more sent to Addis Abbaba; but was obliged to return in February 1891 without having improved the situation.

The Rudini Ministry, which had just succeeded that of Crispi, continued their predecessor's policy in half-hearted fashion. They refused to listen to Menelik's claims to absolute independence; and in March and April 1891 signed two agreements, and in May 1894 a third, with Great Britain,¹ whereby Eritrea and the greater part of Abyssinia—assumed at that moment by both Powers to be practically an Italian protectorate—were recognised as within the Italian sphere of influence, while the limits of Italian activities from the sea westwards towards the Nile Valley were strictly defined in the two former, and its limits towards the south and south-west in the third

¹ See Appendix I, iii, iv, v.

agreement. In reply to the first, Menelik addressed a remarkable circular letter,¹ dated April 10, 1891, to the European Powers, in which he set forth in exact terms what he claimed to be the boundaries of his Empire, ending with the words—

“ En indiquant aujourd’hui les limites actuelles de mon empire, je tâcherai, si Dieu veut bien m’accorder la vie et la force, de rétablir les anciennes frontières d’Ethiopie jusqu’à Khartoum et jusqu’au Lac Nyanza avec les pays Gallas.”

As a matter of fact, this letter seems never to have been circulated.

A few months later Menelik’s suspicions were still further aroused. On December 6, 1891, the Italian Government concluded an alliance (known as the Convention of the Mareb) with his rival, Ras Mangasha, aiming at the detachment of Tigre from the Abyssinian Empire, although at the same time, in fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Uccialli, and to induce the Emperor to acquiesce in the Italian protectorate, they sent Menelik a consignment of 2,000,000 cartridges. No sooner had the cartridges arrived in February 1893 than Menelik, thus equipped, formally denounced the Treaty of Uccialli to all the Powers:—

“ Sous des apparences d’amitié,” he wrote in his Proclamation, “ on n’a en fait cherché qu’à s’emparer de mon pays. . . . Je n’ai pas l’intention de porter, en quoi que ce soit, atteinte à notre amitié avec l’Italie, mais mon empire a une importance suffisante pour ne rechercher aucun protectorat et vivre indépendant. Je tiens donc à porter à votre connaissance mon intention de ne renouveler en aucune façon ce traité.”

For about a year matters remained stationary, as the Italians in Eritrea were occupied by Baratieri’s brilliant campaign against the Dervishes, which ended in the capture of Kassala (July 17, 1894). This interval gave Menelik time to strengthen his position. Mangasha, tired of his useless alliance with Italy, submitted to the Negus, and Ras Alula, with other Tigrean

¹ See Appendix II, p. 104.

chiefs and their followers, was reconciled. Menelik had further added to his dominions in the south by the conquest of the Wallamu tribe to the north of Lake Abaya. In December a great concentration of Abyssinians, under Mangasha, took place in Tigre, and on December 15 Beta Agos, a chief of the Okule-Kusai province, supposed to be friendly to Italy, broke out into rebellion, excited, it is said, by the French Lazarists, whose mission in Eritrea had recently been transferred by Leo XIII to the Italian Capuchins. The revolt was crushed, but Mangasha stood behind Beta Agos; and, on his returning no answer to a demand that his forces should be disbanded, Baratieri, with 3,600 regulars, advanced and occupied Adowa (December 28). This force was not large enough to hold Mangasha's capital, and on January 3, 1895, he retreated. Mangasha's armies were badly beaten at Koatit and Senafe, though they considerably outnumbered the Italians. Baratieri then returned to Massawa, and expelled the French Lazarist Mission from Eritrea and Tigre.

viii. THE WAR WITH ITALY

Mangasha, after an attempt at peace, retired in March before a fresh advance of Baratieri, who occupied Addigrat on March 25, and Adowa on April 2. During the summer Baratieri returned to Rome, where he aroused popular sympathy, and succeeded in getting an increase of supplies. At the same time attempts were made to weaken Menelik's position by tampering with the great Rases and chiefs (Makonnen, Menelik's nephew, Gugsa, Mikael, &c.). From early in 1895 the Negus had been importing arms and munitions from Hamburg, Antwerp, Marseilles, &c., through the French ports of Obok and Jibuti. Baratieri returned from Rome in October, advanced south of Addigrat, and, after a rearguard action with Mangasha at Amba Ailat, occupied and fortified Makalle. He was ill-informed as to Menelik's movements and forces, the

fighting qualities of which seem to have been continually under-estimated. On September 17 the Negus had issued a proclamation, which raised a wave of genuine patriotism, and brought all his vassals to his side to resist the Italian invasion. The advanced guard of his vast army fell upon a small Italian force of 2,150 natives and 4 guns under Major Torelli at Amba Alagi (December 7), and nearly exterminated them. Makalle was now besieged by the army of Ras Makonnen, and after a brave defence of 45 days the garrison surrendered with the honours of war. Fresh proposals for peace from Menelik followed, but they led to no result. The Negus advanced by a circuitous route until he arrived north of Adowa, to which he retreated on February 14. On March 1 the two armies came into touch. Baratieri had 17,700 men and 56 guns (according to another account, 20,170 men and 52 guns); the Abyssinian forces are variously estimated between 90,000 and 200,000 men.

The Abyssinians were encamped around Adowa; to the south lay the Gojjam army under King Tekla Haimanot; Adowa itself was occupied by the Harrar troops under Ras Makonnen; on his left Ras Mikael was posted with the Wollo Galla cavalry; further north was Mangasha with the Tigre troops; and on the extreme left Ras Alula. Menelik and the Empress Taitu appear to have been in reserve behind Adowa, and the Galla cavalry some eight miles off. The Italians advanced in three columns by a night march. Their maps were defective, and they failed to concentrate at the time Baratieri had expected. The result was a series of detached battles, ending in a complete rout. The Italian losses were estimated at 6,133 dead and 1,428 wounded, while 1,865 were taken prisoners. Thirty of the Italian prisoners returned to Italy barbarously mutilated, according to the Abyssinian custom. This was contrary to Menelik's express orders, but 406 of the native troops had their right hand and left foot cut off by his command.

On March 4 General Baldissera reached Asmara

with reinforcements. His arrival and the lack of food and water prevented Menelik's further advance, and on March 20 he had already begun to retreat towards Shoa. Baldissera succeeded in relieving Kassala (April 3) which was blockaded by 5,000 Dervishes, and in extricating the garrison (2,000 men) of Adigrat. The war was ended by a Treaty¹ of Peace, signed at Addis Abbaba on October 26, 1896, by which the Treaty of Ucciali was annulled, and Italy recognised the absolute independence of Abyssinia; the frontiers were to be delimited within a year, and until this was done each of the contracting Powers was to remain in *statu quo*. A supplementary convention² dealt with the release of the Italian prisoners.

ix. EXTENSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF MENELIK'S EMPIRE

The decisive victory of Adowa clearly showed to all the European Powers interested in East Africa and the Nile Valley that the Abyssinian Empire, freed henceforward from all pretence of Italian protection, was a force to be seriously reckoned with. The Italo-Abyssinian War had coincided in time with the French scheme to join the Congo to the Nile by gaining an effective footing along the Bahr el-Ghazal as far as the left bank of the White Nile and thus to bar the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan, which the British Government had recently decided to undertake—partly in order to create a diversion in favour of Italy. Accordingly, in 1896, the French Government endeavoured to induce Menelik to use his newly-demonstrated military power to extend his dominions westwards as far as the White Nile. This mission was entrusted to M. Lagarde, Governor of French Somaliland, and resulted in the conclusion, on

¹ See Appendix I, vi (1), p. 94.

² See Appendix I, vi (2), p. 95.

March 20, 1897, of what M. Hanotaux, who was Foreign Minister at the time, has called "*un véritable traité d'alliance*," though the only document¹ ever published (in 1908) was a convention regulating the Franco-Abyssinian frontier of Somaliland. A month later a British Mission arrived under Mr. Rennell Rodd, accompanied by Colonel Wingate, the Director of the Egyptian Intelligence Department. Mr. Rodd, it is said, was successful in reassuring the Negus that the advance then proceeding up the Nile against the Mahdists concealed no designs against himself, and in securing from him a pledge of neutrality during the operations against the Dervishes, with whom he had recently been in correspondence. But the only outward result was an Anglo-Abyssinian treaty² of amity and commerce, signed on May 14, supplemented on June 4 by an agreement³ which accepted as the frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland the line laid down in Menelik's letter of April 10, 1891, and thus recognised both Harrar and the Ogaden country as within the Emperor's dominions. The question of the frontier between Abyssinia and the Sudan was left untouched.

In June a Turkish mission arrived at Addis Abbaba, followed by a Russian Mission under "Count" Leontieff, a financial adventurer of doubtful antecedents. A mission to organize the territory north-east of Lake Rudolf, most of which was still unconquered, was given to Leontieff, together with a vague promise to appoint him governor of the district when his task should have been accomplished. Prince Henry of Orleans, who had appeared at Addis Abbaba shortly after M. Lagarde, attached himself to Leontieff as a kind of second-in-command.

On June 24 the Italians signed a commercial treaty on the usual lines; but a few weeks later they found

¹ See Appendix I, vii, p. 95.

² See Appendix I, viii (1), p. 95.

³ See Appendix I, viii (2), p. 96.

themselves obliged to accept¹ a new frontier between Eritrea and Abyssinia, in accordance with the claims of Menelik's letter of 1891, which involved a considerable sacrifice of territory.

Meanwhile, apparently in accordance with the "véritable traité d'alliance," but really in continuance of long-cherished schemes of conquest, the armies of Menelik had been set in motion. In fact, even the long and dangerous dispute with Italy had not prevented further acquisitions of territory; for in 1892-4 the Emperor had added to his dominions the extensive district north of Lake Abaya, inhabited by the Wallamu tribe.

In 1897, Ras Gobana, at the head of 30,000 men, with Ras Makonnen at the head of a second army of 40,000 men in reserve, marched across the Blue Nile and subjugated the country of the Beni Shangul on the western edge of the Abyssinian plateau, overlooking the valley of the White Nile.

Dejazmach Tesamma, accompanied by M. Fèvre, a Frenchman, M. Potter, a Swiss, and Captain Artamanoff, a Russian, started at the head of 5,000 men to subjugate the provinces of Gedaref, Gallabat, and Fazogli, but in the spring of 1898 turned southwards and reached the valley of the River Baro, advancing nearly as far as Nasser on the River Sobat. At that point Tesamma detached a light column which, with MM. Fèvre and Potter, actually succeeded in reaching the White Nile at the place of its junction with the Sobat. There, on June 22, 1898, Fèvre hoisted the French flag on an island in the middle of the Nile, while the Abyssinians hoisted the Abyssinian flag on the right bank. The approach of the deadly rainy season forced them to retire before Captain Marchand, who had started on his mission in June 1896, arrived at Fashoda (on the White Nile) on July 10, 1898. A steamer, sent by Marchand to reconnoitre, found the French and Abyssinian flags still fly-

¹ See C. Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica dell' Etiopia*, p. 249. quoting Canevaro's speech, February 27, 1899.

ing on September 1. An earlier French Mission, headed by the Marquis de Bonchamps and despatched from Addis Abbaba for the same purpose, had been forced by want of food to return from the Sobat in December 1897.

Ras Woldo Giorgis, with an army of 30,000 men in October 1897, captured the rebel King of Kaffa, and forced his subjects to return to their allegiance and to the profession of the Christian religion, which they had renounced in favour of Islam. Further to the west the Gimirras and other neighbouring tribes were subjugated. In January 1898 Woldo Giorgis advanced still further to the south, and in March reached the River Kibish, which runs into Lake Rudolf, and formally annexed the territory to the north and north-east of this great lake as far as the Boran Galla.

Fitaurari Hapte Giorgis, accompanied by another Frenchman, M. Darragon, extended the dominions of Menelik in a south-easterly direction as far as the desert of the Ogaden.

These extensive military operations enabled Menelik to include within his Empire the whole of the great plateau of which his predecessors on the Imperial throne had, at most, held only the northern half. His new boundaries were formally recognised in a series of treaties¹ with Great Britain, Italy, and the Anglo-Egyptian Government, dated May 15, 1902, and December 6, 1907 (Sudan-Abyssinia and Uganda-Abyssinia frontiers); and July 10, 1900, and May 16, 1908 (Italo-Abyssinia frontiers). From being the southernmost town of the semi-independent kingdom of Shoa, Addis Abbaba had thus become the central capital of a united Abyssinian Empire.

In 1897 France, Russia, and Italy appointed permanent Ministers to represent their interests at Menelik's Court; and in 1898 Great Britain followed suit.

¹ See Appendix I, ix, p. 96; x, p. 96; xiv, p. 103; xii, p. 102; and xiii, p. 103.

Henceforth the Emperor's task was, not to extend his territory, but to check rebellion and to consolidate the Empire. Menelik himself directed the administration of Shoa and Ifat, and governed the newly-conquered Galla country and his most recent acquisitions in the south-east, south, and south-west through the military officers in charge of the garrisons of his own troops, whom he could appoint or dismiss at his pleasure. Ras Makonnen was governor of Harrar. The fidelity of the older Abyssinian districts in the centre and north he aimed at securing through family connections and alliances. His son-in-law, Ras Mikael, was in charge of the Wollo country, including the district of Magdala. The Simyen province belonged to his Empress, Taitu, and was governed by her representative. His brother-in-law, Ras Wolie, governed Yeju and half of Lasta, the other half of Lasta and the province of Waag being under Wagshum Gwangul, who had for many years faithfully served Menelik before he was given the appointment. King Tekla Haimanot, who owed his kingship to the Emperor John, ruled Gojjam and Bagyemdr, and was too powerful a sovereign to be lightly dispossessed. Ras Mangasha was still governor of Tigre; but to secure his fidelity he had been made to divorce his wife and marry a daughter of Ras Wolie, the Empress Taitu's brother. Ras Alula, who had held an almost independent command on the north Tigrean frontier, died in 1897. From time to time, as opportunity offered, a hereditary prince was replaced by some official more directly dependent on the power of the Negus; and regroupings of the old provincial divisions were introduced.

However, so great was Menelik's military prestige after the victory of Adowa that, until his breakdown in health in 1908, he seems to have been but little troubled with rebellions in his provinces, except in Tigre, where not only Ras Mangasha, but also the more subordinate chieftains, could never rest content with the Shoan dominion. Ras Mangasha was promptly

disposed of. When, in 1898, he ventured again to revolt, he soon found himself, with only 10,000 men at the most, faced by an army four or five times that number under Ras Makonnen. After some slight hostilities he surrendered. He was imprisoned at Ankober (February 1899), where he died in 1906. Ras Makonnen was made governor in his place, and was in May 1900 succeeded by Ras Wolie. Tigre, however, continued to be in a disturbed state, some of the Emperor John's descendants or adherents being always in more or less open rebellion. In 1902 Menelik took advantage of troubles in Gojjam, which had broken out the year before after the death of its ruler, King Tekla Haimanot, to divide his territory among the neighbouring provinces of Ras Mikael and Ras Mangasha Atekim, assigning only a small portion of it to Dejazmach Seyum, one of Tekla's sons.

X. FRONTIER POLICY

From another frequent source of trouble, the occurrence of frontier raids by wild tribes on either side, Menelik's consistent policy of defining his frontiers by treaty kept him comparatively free. Moreover, whenever such raids occurred, as, in fact, they frequently did, he always showed his willingness either to check them himself or to co-operate with his neighbours in checking them, as well as to negotiate in regard to any matters in dispute.

1.—(a) The frontier between Abyssinia and Eritrea was settled after the war in the supplementary agreement (unpublished) of 1897,¹ whereby Italy restored a considerable portion of the territory which she had previously occupied. This arrangement was, however, revised in favour of Italy by the Treaty² of July 10, 1900, when the line Tomat—Todluk—River Mareb—River Belesa—River Muna was agreed to;

¹ Cf. above, p. 36.

² See Appendix I, ix, p. 96.

and again revised—once more in favour of Italy—by an annex to the Anglo-Italo-Abyssinian Treaty of May 15, 1902.¹ It was completed between the Muna and the French frontier by the Italo-Abyssinian Treaty² of May 16, 1908.

The frontier between Abyssinia and Benadir (Italian Somaliland) was also determined by the supplementary agreement of 1897, and so remained until May 16, 1908, when, in return for a payment of 3 million lire, Menelik ceded certain additional territory to Italy, including Lugh.³ In accordance with clauses in the Treaties of 1908, the Citerni Mission in 1911 demarcated a geographical line separating the Abyssinian and Italian territories.

(b) The Franco-Abyssinian Treaty³ of March 20, 1897, determined the frontier between Abyssinia and French Somaliland.

(c) The frontier between Abyssinia and British Somaliland was defined by the Treaty⁴ of May 14, 1897, and its annexes of June 4, 1897; that between Abyssinia and the Sudan in general terms by the Treaty⁵ of May 15, 1902, and in detail by the demarcation of the Joint Boundary Commission, signed on June 27 of the same year. In this Treaty Menelik also engaged (1) not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat, which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile; (2) to lease a site near Itang on the Baro to the Sudan Government for a commercial station; and (3) to grant the right to the British and Sudan Governments to construct a railway through Abyssinian territory connecting the Sudan with Uganda. Finally, the frontier between Abyssinia and British East Africa

¹ See Appendix I, x, p. 96; xiv, p. 103.

² See Appendix I, xiii, p. 103.

³ First published in 1908. See Appendix I, vii, p. 95.

⁴ See Appendix I, viii, p. 95.

⁵ See Appendix I, x, p. 96.

was settled in general terms by the Treaty¹ of December 6, 1907; but the line of demarcation proposed after Major Gwynn's survey in 1909 has never been agreed to.

2.—(a) On the frontiers the activities of Mohammed Abdullah, known as the "Mad Mullah," were the most permanent source of trouble. He first rose in revolt against the British in the Dolbahanta district of Somaliland. In 1900 he threatened Harrar, and was defeated with the loss of 2,000 men by Banti, Ras Makonnen's lieutenant, at Jig Jiga, 50 miles east of the town. From 1901 to 1904, at Menelik's own suggestion, Abyssinian forces cordially co-operated with the British forces directed against him. Thus, in the spring of 1901, Ras Makonnen, accompanied by two British officers, inflicted on him three successive defeats south-east of Harrar, and drove him out of Abyssinia through the Haud into Italian Somaliland. In the campaign of 1902-3 Menelik sent a force of 5,000 men to occupy the Webi Shebeli and the south-western district of the Haud, while another force, under Ras Makonnen, guarded the neighbourhood of Jig Jiga, thus confining the Mullah's operations to the Ogaden country. Again, in the campaign of 1903-4, another Abyssinian force of 5,000 men co-operated with General Egerton in the same south-eastern district, this time without any decisive result. When the Mullah renewed his depredations in 1907, Abyssinian territory was not affected.

(b) Not infrequently Abyssinian chiefs were the offenders; but Menelik was always ready to listen to the remonstrances of the injured parties. Thus, in 1902, Beta Agos, the famous Tigrean chief, having raided Eritrea, was exiled to Kaffa; and in 1908 Dejazmach Lul Saged, after a raid into Benadir, near Lugh, was summoned to Addis Abbaba and put in chains. Again in 1906, at Menelik's orders, Dejazmach Gassessa, sub-governor at Gallabat, pursued and slew

¹ See Appendix I, xii, p. 102.

Haile Mariam, and punished the other chiefs concerned in a raid upon some Sudanese Arabs in the Atbara Valley. However, when Menelik's illness in 1908 rendered him incapable of holding any longer the reins of government, raids on all sides dangerously increased in frequency and extent.

XI. GENERAL FOREIGN RELATIONS

(a) *Political*

Ever since the Italian attempt in 1889 at the very beginning of his reign to assert a protectorate over the whole of Abyssinia, the Emperor Menelik showed himself consistently jealous of his sovereign rights as an independent monarch, and always refused to sign any document which he considered likely to infringe his imperial prerogatives, or to entangle himself in any alliance with any one Power which might endanger his good relations with the other Powers.

Thus, the two principal clauses in the Treaty of Peace with Italy in 1896 were the cancellation of the Treaty of Ucciali (1889) and the recognition without reserve of the absolute independence of the Ethiopian Empire as a sovereign and independent State. In 1902 Menelik refused his consent to the French Convention of February 6, 1902, because he thought that by Article XIV it invaded his sovereign rights over Abyssinian territory, although at the same date he granted to the British and Sudanese Governments considerable rights over Lake Tsana, for the future construction of a railway connecting the Sudan and Uganda, and for the establishment of a commercial post on the River Baro. Again, in 1906, he hesitated for months to recognise the Tripartite Treaty¹ between Great Britain, France, and Italy, which guaranteed the maintenance of the *status quo* in Abyssinia, the non-intervention of the three Powers in her internal affairs, and the integrity and independence of her

¹ See Appendix I, xi, p. 97.

Empire, because he feared that some of its clauses interfered with his full sovereign rights, and might even foreshadow a division of his country into "spheres of influence."

Shortly after the recognition of Abyssinia as a Sovereign State, the European Powers most interested in her affairs established permanent representatives at Addis Abbaba, where they were cordially welcomed by Menelik; it was through their agency that the manifold treaties concluded between 1897 and 1908 were negotiated. In these negotiations, Menelik undoubtedly suffered from the fact that he had no corresponding representatives accredited to the different Governments concerned, so that he was never able to check their statements with any first-hand information derived from trusted agents of his own—a position of affairs which naturally resulted in much mutual suspicion and delay. Two or three times Menelik did, indeed, send missions to Europe, the most famous of which was that headed by Ras Makonnen, who visited Paris and London in 1902; but they seem to have been more of a complimentary than of a diplomatic nature. In 1902 also the Abuna Matewos went on a visit to St. Petersburg, with the object, it was supposed, of withdrawing the Abyssinian Church from its dependence on the Coptic Church of Egypt and putting it under Russian protection. The mission, however, led to no result.

(b) *Commercial*

Although Menelik, ever since he became Negus Nagasti in 1889, would brook no interference from any European Power with what he considered to be his sovereign rights in the political and military spheres, he was always keenly alive to the advantages which he and his country might gain from European commerce and material civilisation.

(1) *Commercial Treaties*.—With these objects in view, as King of Shoa he signed a treaty of commerce with Italy in 1883. As Emperor of Abyssinia

he signed treaties of commerce with France, Great Britain,¹ Russia, and Italy in 1897; with Germany² and Austria-Hungary in 1905; with Belgium, and again with Italy, in 1906; and again with France, in 1908.²

(2.) *Railway Concessions*.—As early as 1876 and 1881 Menelik addressed letters to the President of the French Republic, asking for locomotives as well as for arms, and in 1880 he granted a concession to a French explorer to construct a railway from Shoa to Obok on Tajura Bay, though nothing came of it. Again, in 1889, he wrote to President Carnot, seeking the help of the French Government for the same purpose. Finally, on March 9, 1894, he granted to M. Ilg authority to form a company for the construction of a line from Jibuti to Harrar and Addis Abbaba, and thence westwards to the banks of the White Nile.

xii. THE JIBUTI RAILWAY AND OTHER CONCESSIONS

In July 1896 the original concession was, through the influence with Menelik of MM. Ilg and Chefneux, transferred to a French company, under the title of the *Compagnie internationale des Chemins de fer Éthiopiens*, and permission was granted the same year by the Emperor and by the French Government for the construction in their respective territories of the first section of the line, Jibuti-Dire Dawa. In 1897 the work was begun, but was stopped in 1898 for want of funds. Recourse was then made to British capital, raised by a new company, which was floated in London under the name of the *International Ethiopian Railway Trust*, and with its help the work was resumed. On February 6, 1902, the French Government carried a law authorizing a Convention of the same date granting the original company an annual subsidy of 500,000 francs for 50 years, in return for which the line was to pass virtually

¹ See *infra*, p. 85.

² See *infra*, p. 87.

under Government control, and by clause XIV was at a future date to become the property of the French Government. This money was capitalized for a sum of 11,300,000 francs, which served only to pay off old debts and to carry the line to Dire-Dawa—a place less than half-way to Addis Abbaba and in the heart of the Danakil Desert. Clause XIV excited the suspicions of Menelik, who saw in it an invasion of his sovereign rights, and therefore refused his consent, which, under the terms of the French law, was necessary to the arrangement. The result was that for the next six years nothing was done. Meanwhile, the financiers interested in the line carried on a persistent campaign to internationalize the railway.

At last, in 1906, the question was diplomatically, but not otherwise, settled by the Tripartite Convention¹ between Great Britain, France, and Italy, which dealt in general terms with the whole problem of railway construction in Abyssinia, and with the construction of the second section of the Jibuti Railway in particular. Under the terms of this agreement the French character of the enterprise was definitely recognised under the conditions: (1) that France should renounce all claim to prolong the railway west of Addis Abbaba to the White Nile; (2) that the nationals of the three countries should enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment on the railway and in the port of Jibuti; and (3) that a British, an Italian, and an Abyssinian representative should be appointed to the Board of the French company or companies which should be entrusted with the construction and working of the railway. As a *quid pro quo* Great Britain secured the right, under similar conditions, to construct all railways west of Addis Abbaba as well as the railway, the concession for which Menelik had granted in 1904, from British Somaliland through Abyssinia to the Sudanese frontier; while Italy secured the right to construct a railway west of

¹ See Appendix I, xi, p. 97.

Addis Abbaba to connect Benadir with Eritrea. In addition Great Britain and Italy secured from France an agreement whereby the three Powers covenanted with each other to keep a rigorous watch against contraband traffic in arms and munitions on their respective coasts with Abyssinia and other neighbouring countries. In 1907, the French Government forced the original company into liquidation with a view to its assets being bought up by a new French company, which was to have its capital guaranteed by the French Government, and to enjoy the right of levying a tax of 4 per cent. on all merchandise carried on the line. On January 30, 1908, Menelik, after long hesitation, consented to the retransfer of the old Ilg concession to the new French company; and in February the agreement between the French Government and the new company was signed.

In November 1908 Menelik's illness totally incapacitated him; and, though work was resumed in January 1909, the Regent and Council of Ministers for months hindered all progress by raising the question whether the section of the line in Abyssinian territory should be under Abyssinian or French control. They finally allowed the work to go on again without any definite settlement of the question. Thenceforward progress was more rapid; and in September 1913 trains were running as far as the River Hawash. After Menelik's death, in the following December, Lij Yasu and his Ministers raised still further difficulties; these were, however, overcome by a promise on the part of the French company to pay the Abyssinian Government 10 per cent. on the cost of construction of the section of the line still unfinished. The work was once more allowed to proceed; in February 1917 the line had reached Akaki, only 8 miles east-south-east of Addis Abbaba, and in 1918 trains were running the whole distance between Jibuti and Addis Abbaba.

Other Concessions.—In 1899 Menelik inaugurated a new policy of trying to open up his country by granting commercial concessions to various European

companies. The earliest and most notorious was the concession, in June 1899, already mentioned, to "Count" Leontieff, for the exploitation of a large district north-east of Lake Rudolf. After some two years of plundering and misgovernment Leontieff was recalled. On December 25, 1899, two large concessions were granted, the first to Mr. G. W. Lane and an English company to search for gold in the Beni Shangul country; the second to M. Ilg, to exploit gold in the Wallega country. In 1903 an enormous concession, comprising the whole of Tigre and the greater part of Amhara, was granted to the *Sindicato Italiano d'oltre Mareb* to search for minerals in general. A similar concession, covering the whole of Gojjam, was given to the Sennaar Syndicate. One of these syndicates was run by Hassan Ydlibi, who started his company with British capital to exploit rubber over an enormous territory. Many other concessions of similar character, and monopolies for coffee, wax, salt, and skins, were granted to companies of different nationalities, including a cotton concession to an Austrian company. Perhaps the most successful of these enterprizes was the Bank of Abyssinia, established under a concession granted in 1905 to the National Bank of Egypt. After several years of financial and political difficulties the Bank proved a financial success. It was given the monopoly of issuing notes and minting coins; Ras Woldo Giorgis had a seat on the original board of directors.

The Emperor was quick to see the advantages for administrative purposes of the telegraph and the telephone, by the construction of which between Addis Abbaba and the principal provincial stations he was enabled to keep a tighter hold over his governors.

In Menelik's reign there was little real development of trade, for several reasons. First and foremost, the native Abyssinians are a ruling race, who leave all trade and industry—even agriculture—to the Gallas and other subject races, reserving to themselves the profession of arms. Secondly, all traders, whether

subjects or foreigners, are forced to spend the greater part of their profits in distributing gratuities in order to be allowed to ply any trade at all. Thirdly, Menelik himself, as time went on, grew more and more exacting; not only did he impose heavy percentages on the revenues of all foreigners and foreign companies to whom he granted concessions and monopolies, but he forced all the merchandise that he possibly could to pass through Addis Abbaba, for the sole purpose of levying heavy dues upon it on its way to the Jibuti Railway. Moreover, he did a lucrative business himself by acting as chief money-lender to foreign merchants at ruinous rates of interest. Again, though the Emperor would occasionally order roads to be made and bridges to be built, the money required for such useful enterprises was never forthcoming, the whole of the Imperial revenue being insufficient to meet the expenses of the army. Rough tracks, therefore, still remained the only means of communication, and these during the rainy season, June to October, were quite impassable.

xiii. SOCIAL REFORMS

In 1889, following the policy of his predecessor, the Emperor John, Menelik decreed the abolition of slavery throughout his Empire, with the special exception of prisoners taken in war. For the first ten years of his reign Menelik was pursuing his policy of frontier conquests, so that the proclamation had but little practical effect, except to stop the buying and selling of slaves in open market. Even after this, the surreptitious export of slaves to Arabia, Turkey, and other Moslem countries still went on; and as late as 1906 it was officially reported that in Abyssinia itself slaves continued to have their market value.

Similarly, Menelik decreed a reform of the *Fatha Nagast*, the ancient code of law, based according to one theory on the Mosaic law and the code of Justinian, or according to another theory on an

amalgamation of the Mosaic law, the canon law of the early Eastern Church, and Moslem law, made by an Egyptian Copt in the thirteenth century; but after the decree justice continued to be administered in the courts according to customary law as before. In 1900 he forbade the importation of absinthe and other spirits, but the Abyssinians continued to be as drunken a nation as ever.

xiv. YEARS OF MENELIK'S ILLNESS (1906-13)

The first sign that all was not well with Menelik's health was a rumour in May 1906 that he had had an apoplectic fit. This rumour, coupled with the deaths in the spring of Ras Makonnen and Ras Mangasha (of Tigre), the two most obvious successors to the throne, and with the progress of German intrigues at Addis Abbaba, undoubtedly hastened the conclusion of the Tripartite Convention between Great Britain, France, and Italy in July. The Convention was presented to the Emperor on the 18th of the same month. At last, on December 10, after long hesitation, he replied:—

“ We have received the arrangement made by the three Powers. We thank them for their communication and their desire to keep and maintain the independence of our Government. But let it be understood that this arrangement in no way limits what we consider our sovereign rights.”

For the next eighteen months, though feeble in health, Menelik was still well enough to take an active part in the administration of his Empire—even after an attack of partial paralysis in August 1907. The increase of German influence was marked in March by the Empress Taitu engaging a German governess for Lij Yasu, the son of Ras Mikael by Menelik's daughter, Waizaro Shoaraga, and in the summer by the despatch of Dejazmach Meshasha Worq on an Imperial mission to Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Rome, and Constantinople. The appointment of a new Ministry in October may have been an indication that

Menelik was conscious of his own growing weakness. However, on December 6 he signed the treaty with Great Britain which fixed the southern frontier from Dolo to the Sudan, and on January 10, 1908, a new Treaty of Amity and Commerce with France, which included an article instituting consular jurisdiction for French nationals resident in Abyssinia. Three weeks later the French Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Klobukowski, induced the Emperor to sign the transfer of the old Jibuti Railway concession to the new French company.

On May 16, 1908, Menelik signed a treaty with Italy defining the whole of the Italo-Abyssinian frontiers both for Eritrea and Benadir. This was practically the last public act of the great Emperor; for, though he lingered on till December 16, 1913, and at times even made some progress towards recovery, he was never sufficiently well to take any real part in political affairs. On June 19, 1908, it was officially announced to the Powers that Menelik had appointed Ras Mikael's son, Lij Yasu, then a boy of 12 years old, to be his successor. The great Rases assembled at Addis Abbaba; but fear of Menelik, should he recover, and jealousy of each other prevented their taking any action. All public business was at a standstill, and remained so until after the Emperor's death. The government of the provinces was administered by their Azajs, or deputies, during the absence of the Rases, and on the frontiers raids were made in all directions; but no steps were taken either to prevent them or to punish the offenders. Meanwhile, the old Empress Taitu, who had always taken a leading part in the counsels of the Emperor, did her best to step into the breach and to concentrate all political power in her own hands. From the first she intrigued to get Waizaro Zauditu, the Emperor's daughter by a former wife, and now wife of Ras Gugsa, son of Ras Wolie, her own brother, recognised as heiress to the throne in place of Lij Yasu. But the great Rases were too strong for her; to appease her they did, indeed,

allow a child marriage to take place between Lij Yasu and Waizaro Romanie, the daughter of the late Ras Mangasha of Tigre—Taitu herself came from northern Abyssinia—but two days later they caused Lij Yasu to be publicly proclaimed as Menelik's heir before a great assembly at Addis Abbaba. After the proclamation many of the great Rases returned to their provinces. Though foiled in her plans for the moment, Taitu was by no means discouraged. She had recourse to German aid, and in May a Dr. Zintgraff arrived at Addis Abbaba to take up a newly-invented post as "adviser" to the Emperor; and a German doctor was installed at the palace, in place of the French doctor, to look after the Emperor's health. But Taitu soon quarrelled with her new allies, and they, in revenge, indirectly accused her of trying to poison her husband. Once more the Rases interposed. Dr. Zintgraff, finding his position untenable, resigned, and the old Ras Tesamma was made head of the Rases and invested with full powers by the Council of Ministers.

On October 27, 1908, Menelik, being apparently *in extremis*, solemnly—according to Abyssinian custom—designated Lij Yasu as his successor and Ras Tesamma as Regent, and three days later issued a proclamation to his people announcing the fact. In November another stroke deprived him of all power of speech and almost of motion. From this time onwards the Empress, backed by the clergy, for a few months had it all her own way, her ascendancy being much favoured by a quarrel between Ras Tesamma and Ras Woldo Giorgis, which completely paralyzed all action on the part of the Regent and the Council of Ministers. Her aim apparently was to secure the Regency for herself and the Kingdom for her family. Accordingly, she procured for her brother, already Governor of Yeju, supreme power over all Tigre. His son, Gugsu, was already Governor of Bagyemedet. Gojjam was ruled by Ras Hailu, the youngest son of the late Negus, who had married her niece. The rich province

of Harrar, under the rule of her supporter, Dejazmach Balcha, supplied her with arms and money. Had Menelik died at this time, Taitu might, perhaps, have succeeded in making Ras Gugsa Emperor, or his wife Empress. But she made two fatal mistakes, which set the great Shoan chiefs against her; she refused to allow Ras Abata, after his brilliant victory over the rebellious Dejazmach Abraha at Kworam (October 9, 1909), in Tigre, to return to Addis Abbaba, her object in this being to break up his army and secure his artillery for Ras Wolie, her own brother; and she induced Ras Gugsa to sound the Sudan authorities as to their views about his accession to the throne.

Matters came to a crisis in March 1910. On the 10th the Shoan chiefs went to the Abuna Matewos, accused Ras Tesamma of having broken his oath to Menelik by allowing the Empress Taitu to usurp the supreme power, and insisted on her complete withdrawal from all political activities, and on the establishment of the state of things decreed by Menelik. The Government took the necessary military measures, and the Empress, finding resistance impossible, surrendered unconditionally; her appointments were cancelled, and all the troops that she had collected at Addis Abbaba were sent to their homes. Taitu's only hope was that her brother, Ras Wolie, would offer armed resistance in Tigre to his supersession in the governorship by Ras Woldo Giorgis, the Government's nominee. But when the new governor appeared at Debra Tabor, at the head of a strong force, to take over his own province and to instal the Government's nominees in their various posts, Ras Wolie, after some delay, quietly submitted to the Government.¹

On April 10, 1911, Tesamma died, and the Council then decided that Lij Yasu was old enough to act for himself under their guidance.

¹ Taitu died on February 11, 1918.

XV. REIGN OF LIJ YASU

Lij Yasu was born at Tanta in 1896. As a child he was carefully guarded, under Azaj Wolde Tadik, at Taku, near Ankober, where his education (by Abyssinian priests) consisted mainly in reading sacred books. After the *coup d'état* of 1910 he was divorced from his child-wife Romanie in order to marry Waizaro Selele Wangel (aged 14), a daughter of Ras Hailu, the youngest son of Tekla Haimanot, Negus of Gojjam. At Addis Abbaba Yasu lived under the strict tutelage of Ras Tesamma; he was said to know a little French and Arabic, but not to have been well educated.

On December 12, 1913, Menelik died, and the Empress Taitu was authorized to leave the Gebbi and retire to her estates near Addis Abbaba, which were restored to her. The death of Menelik did not make much difference in the general state of affairs. Yasu was not crowned—it is said because soothsayers foretold that his death would follow his coronation. Amongst the chiefs summoned to do homage to him on his accession was Dejazmach Gabra Selassye. No sooner had he started than Ras Sebhat (of Agame) invaded his province in Tigre. Gabra Selassye returned, and in a battle on February 24, 1914, Sebhat and two of his sons were killed. Woldo Giorgis was dispatched from Addis Abbaba to restore order. Joined by Ras Seyum Mangasha he summoned Gabra Selassye to surrender. Selassye refused, and was attacked and defeated by Seyum (March 3) at Maiken, only saving himself by flight. Woldo Giorgis, with 50,000 men, then occupied Adowa and re-established order. The whole of this movement was evidently connected with the alarmist reports then prevalent in Addis Abbaba as to a contemplated attack by Italy on Abyssinia. Some months previously the Abyssinian Government had been negotiating with Austria, through the Austrian consul, Karl Schwimmer, for a supply of artillery. A mission was sent to Vienna, accompanied by Schwimmer. It arrived in March,

and was received by the Emperor Francis Joseph. Schwimmer had received an advance of £40,000 in order to obtain 100 guns, 200,000 shells, and 50,000 rifles, as well as the services of a general and six officers to instruct the Abyssinian army. He returned to Abyssinia in May, arriving at Jibuti about the middle of the month with 100 guns (smooth-bore field-guns of the 1861 model), and a supply of ammunition and rifles.

In May, Lij Yasu made his father Negus of Wollo Galla and Tigre; he was crowned at Dessie on June 1.

In 1916, at a time when the whole Empire was thoroughly unsettled, discussions were reopened at Addis Abbaba on the subject of a proposed Treaty with Great Britain with regard to the construction of a barrage to regulate the waters of the Blue Nile on its outlet from Lake Tsana. A mixed Abyssinian and British mission visited the lake between February and May, 1916, but owing to the obstacles raised by the Abyssinian authorities nothing was done and the negotiations were suspended.

On September 27, 1916, the Shoan chiefs, assembled at Addis Abbaba, issued a proclamation deposing Lij Yasu on the ground of his anti-Christian intrigues, and proclaiming as Empress in his stead Waizaro Zauditu (a daughter of Menelik by Waizaro Bafana), with Dejazmach (afterwards Ras) Taffari (son of Ras Makonnen and grandson of Sehala Selassye) as Regent and heir to the throne.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) RELIGIOUS

THE chief religions represented in the Abyssinian Empire are: (i) Christianity; (ii) Mohammedanism; (iii) Judaism; and (iv) many varieties of Paganism.

(a) Christianity

The ruling race, the Abyssinians, are monophysite Christians. Since the consecration of Frumentius (*cf.* p. 15), with one break only—during the Jesuit domination under Portuguese influence, *c.* 1500-1633—the Abyssinian bishops are said to have always been Egyptian monks chosen and consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria. The mother Church never allowed more than seven bishops in the Ethiopian synod, of whom the holder of the senior see, that of Aksum, was always *ex officio* the Metropolitan; but in course of time the episcopal office tended to be confined to the Metropolitan bishop or Abuna (*i.e.* father) of Aksum only; and after the fall of Aksum he generally resided at or near the Emperor's Court. But in the reign of the Emperor John (*c.* 1881), four Abunas seem to have been appointed: Petros, as Metropolitan to Aksum (Tigre), Matewos to Shoa, Lucas to Gojjam, and Marcos to Amhara, of whom the two former still survive. When Menelik ascended the Imperial throne in 1889 he was, in defiance of tradition, crowned by his own Abuna, Matewos of Shoa, who afterwards resided at his Court and acted—equally in defiance of tradition—as the Metropolitan bishop. The Coptic Church, it is said, maintains its hold over the Abyssinian Church by refusing to consecrate more than seven bishops, so

that, as ten bishops are held to be the canonical number for the election of a primate, the Abyssinian bishops can never elect an independent primate of their own. During the last few decades attempts have been made by the Abyssinian Church to shake itself free of the Coptic Church by union with the Armenian or the Russian Church; but so far these efforts have come to nothing.

Next to the Abunas rank the *Ichage* and *Nabrid*, always native Abyssinians, the former being the head of the monks of Debra Libanos, but since the seventeenth century resident at Gondar; the latter being the Kes Gabaz, or dean of the chapter, of the cathedral at Aksum, to whom falls the duty of putting the crown on the Emperor's head. Next in order come the chief priests of the numerous churches, monasteries, and convents. Below them are the countless priests and deacons, who form a very considerable portion—perhaps one-fifth—of the male population.

As in the Greek Church, the secular clergy must marry (but once only) before they can be appointed to any parish, and they must marry as deacons, not as priests.

Monasteries and convents are numerous, and the inmates keep themselves aloof from the life of their neighbours.

Many of the churches and monasteries are wealthy and possess large tracts of land, while others are quite poor. Church lands are cultivated by *gabars* or serfs, who pay the same dues and render the same services as do the *gabars* on the Emperor's lands, except that they give the *corvée* to the Church. The priests have great power over the laity, and in the reign of Menelik II, who was much under the sway of the Empress Taitu, exercised much political influence.

The Abyssinians in general are rigid in their observance of the outward forms and practices of their Church. Good churchmen strictly keep about 150 holidays and feast days, including Saturdays, the Jewish Sabbath, as well as Sundays, on which every form of

work is forbidden. They fast on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year (except for the 50 days after Easter), 40 days in Lent, and 40 days before Christmas, besides observing the canonical fasts before feast days and the week's fast of Heraclius before Lent. It is remarkable that the Abyssinians also practice the Jewish customs of circumcision, the Kosher slaughter of animals, and the avoidance of unclean food.

One of their religious duties is a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they lay claim, as against the Copts, to the possession of the ruined monastery of Deir es-Sultan (the Church of the Angels), adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, and at present included in the grounds of the Coptic monastery. The dispute is of long standing, and the settlement arrived at as far back as 1836 was recently called in question and gave rise to diplomatic difficulties.

The Abyssinian Church has never made any missionary efforts; but the Emperor John, after his conquest of the Wollo Galla, and the Emperor Menelik, after his subjugation of the rebellious Kafficho, decreed the conversion of their foes to Christianity.

Though one of Menelik's reforms was the proclamation of religious liberty, there are not many representatives of other Christian bodies in Abyssinia. The national revolt against the domination of the Jesuits (1632-35) left but few traces of Roman Catholicism. In more recent years the English Church Missionary Society and various Roman Catholic missionaries, French, Italian, and Austrian, have made feeble and unsuccessful efforts. In 1886 the Emperor John, on the plea that the Europeans sent first missionaries, then consuls, and finally soldiers, expelled them all. Menelik tolerated a few French missionaries at Harrar, but allowed them little scope for their activities. In fact, in 1903, he proposed to expel them, not wishing to be obliged to admit missionaries of other nationalities.

(b) *Mohammedanism*

In the sixteenth century great numbers of Gallas, who had embraced Islam, followed in the wake of Mohammed Grañ's invasion, and overran Harrar, Shoa, and the district round Magdala. The Gallas in Harrar remained Moslems, but the Gallas in the other three regions were converted, at least nominally, to Christianity.

Within the limits of Menelik's Empire, all the Somali and Danakil tribes in the north-east and east are Moslems. So also are the Gallas of the Jimma and Guma country south-west of Addis Abbaba. In the far west the Bertat tribe, half negro and half Arab, living in the Beni Shangul country, are Moslems, like their Sudanese neighbours.

(c) *Judaism*

The Falashas of Simyen, though Hamites by race, are Jews by religion. *Falas* is Ethiopic for stranger, and the Falasha claim to be descendants (i) of the Jewish companions of Menelik I, son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and (2) of Jews who fled to Egypt before the Babylonian Captivity. They are ignorant of Hebrew, but possess in Ge'ez, the old Abyssinian language, both the canonical and the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, a volume of extracts from the Pentateuch, with comments given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai; the Ardit, a book of secrets revealed to twelve saints; lives of Abraham, Moses, &c.; and a translation of Josephus called Sana Aihud. The Falashas do not mix with the Abyssinians, but live in villages of their own, or, if resident in a Christian or Mohammedan town, in a separate quarter. Polygamy is unknown among them, and their moral standard is higher than that of the Abyssinians. Their line of Kings, who for more than three centuries (937-1268) ruled over all Abyssinia except Shoa, became extinct about 1800, when the Falashas became subjects to Tigre.

(d) Paganism

In general, the Gallas, the southern Cushites round Lake Abaya (except the Kafficho), and the Shankalla (negro) tribes of the west are Pagans. The forms of Paganism are as various as the tribes themselves, ranging from the lofty anthropomorphism of some of the Galla tribes to fetishism among the negroes.

Much superstition is prevalent among all the peoples of the Empire, whether rulers or subjects; and throughout Abyssinia there remains a lively primitive Paganism. All alike believe in the efficacy of charms, magic, and the evil eye.

(2) POLITICAL

Under Menelik the government of the Abyssinian Empire was a military despotism tempered by distance. In theory, if not in practice, the power of the Emperor was absolute in all departments.

Menelik had, by his extensive conquests in the west, south, and east, done more than half the work of securing his position while he was King of Shoa, 1866-89. The victory of Adowa in 1896 completed the other half of his work. He was now regarded as the victorious champion of the whole Abyssinian nation against European aggression. In the next three years he did, indeed, largely increase his territory in the west and south by the incorporation of many savage or semi-savage negro and Galla tribes; but these annexations added but little to the strength or resources of his Empire. Thus, from 1896 till his death in 1913, Menelik's military prestige was such that none of his vassals ever ventured seriously to oppose his authority; for the various rebellions of the Tigrean chieftains, who, remembering the past glories of the north, were always jealous of the rise to power of the southern kingdom of Shoa, were never any real danger.

(a) Provincial Organization

(1) Left without a rival, Menelik had more than twenty years of leisure for the organization of his wide Empire. His system, if such it may be called, was of the simplest. Everywhere he set up military governorships with civil duties attached to them. As King of Shoa he had already adopted this policy in all his newly-annexed territories. The old kingdoms of the north presented greater difficulties; but here the Emperor John had already paved the way by crushing the old turbulent aristocracy. Menelik had merely to give the finishing blow by abolishing, as opportunity offered, the hereditary governorships wherever they existed, and appointing his own nominees in their place, often at the same time subdividing or otherwise altering the boundaries of the old provinces. Under this system the new governors were entirely dependent on the Emperor for their position, and possessed no local influence which might tempt them to rebellion. Furthermore, they were surrounded with minor officials, each anxious to step into the governor's shoes and always ready to report any indiscretion on his part to the Emperor. One of the most effective checks was the annual visit which the governors were expected to pay to Addis Abbaba, leaving the administration of their provinces to their *azajs* or deputies. If a governor was at all suspect, it was Menelik's custom to detain him at his Court for an indefinite period on various pretexts, sometimes sending a reliable minor official to administer his province in place of the *azaj*. But the real basis of Menelik's power was the superiority of the Shoan army over the armies of any of the other provinces.

(2) Under Menelik the Empire was divided into numerous provinces varying very greatly in area and importance, the number and importance of the officials, who administered them, varying accordingly. The old hereditary chiefs of the northern provinces had often assumed the title of Negus (King), as being next in

rank to the Emperor himself, the Negus Nagasti, or King of Kings. But Menelik, though he tolerated the position of his old rival, Tekla Haimanot, as Negus of Gojjam till the latter's death in 1901, never conferred on any governor of his own appointment a title so near to his own. Under his system a governor might be either a *ras* (commander-in-chief of a provincial army), a *dejzmach* (general), or a *fitaurari* (commander of the advanced guard); but the title was personal to the bearer of it, and bore no relation to the importance of the province which he was called on to administer, or to the military force which might be placed under his command. Dejzmach Balcha, Governor of Harrar, for instance, in 1910 administered a province ten times larger than Yeju, the province of Ras Wolie.

Each province is divided into districts under subordinate governors; each district into *Gultis* or groups of villages, each group ruled by a Shum-gulti, Gultena, or Malkana; each Gulti into *Addis*, smaller groups of villages, each ruled by a Shum-addi; and each Addi into villages, each under the rule of a Chika-Shum. Every official is responsible to, and will take his orders from, his immediate superior, and from no one else. To be actually executed, the Emperor's orders have to filter down from the governor at the top to the lowest Shum at the bottom, and in the course of the passage are more often than not hopelessly blocked. On such a system, however tight a hold Menelik might keep over his governors, he had in practice no control over their subordinates. This insubordination of lower officials is suggested in the often quoted Abyssinian proverb: "No dog knows his master's master."

Whatever may have been his motive, Menelik's institution of a Ministry on the European model in 1907 made no real change in the situation. Most of the Ministers were men of no importance; and, even after he was incapacitated by illness, they never ventured to do anything on their own responsibility, so long as there was any chance of the Emperor's recovery.

(b) Judicial System

The Emperor is the supreme judge; but, except to hear a few cases of appeal and to confirm death sentences, he takes no personal part in the administration of justice, being represented by the Afa Negus (literally, "Breath of the King"). It has been asserted that the judges administer the law according to the ancient code of the *Fatha Nagast*; but, as a matter of fact, the ordinary tribunals, both civil and criminal, follow the customary law of the province in which they sit; and this varies greatly from province to province.

(a) In civil cases the parties appear before the local Shum, who appoints arbitrators to settle the matter, and only hears the case himself if the suitors are not satisfied with the arbitrators' decision. From the Shum's decision an appeal lies first to the Malkaña or Gultaña, and then to the governor of the province, who, besides being head of the local Customs and chief merchant of the province, acts as judge in these cases. From his decision there is an appeal first to the Afa Negus and then to the Emperor. Commercial cases are settled by the provincial Nagadras.

(b) In criminal cases the *lex talionis* and the Mosaic law prevail, unless the charge falls under some special provision of the *Fatha Nagast*. All prosecutions for offences against private persons are undertaken as acts of private vengeance; the State does not interfere unless State interests are at stake. There is no appeal from the decision of the court; but the constitution of the court is determined rather by the social status of the accused than by the nature of the offence committed. The penalties are death, mutilation of a hand or foot or of both, flogging, confinement in chains, and fines. The death penalty, which is inflicted for manslaughter as well as for murder, is executed by the dead man's relations; but the homicide is allowed to purchase immunity by blood-money, if the accusers are willing to accept it. Habitual criminals are punished by flogging, and for further offences by mutilation.

There is but little serious crime in Abyssinia, and the administration of criminal justice is, on the whole, satisfactory.

There is a remarkable custom in the case of non-payments of fines or debts. The defaulter is chained to the prosecutor; together they visit the relatives of the former to try to raise the necessary money; if that resource fails, the defaulter is allowed to try to collect the money by appeals to charity. A creditor may also force his debtor to work off his debt by manual labour.

(c) Ecclesiastical courts try cases of heresy, divorce, charges against priests, and thefts of, or disputes about, Church property. The lowest court is made up of five priests and deacons, from whose judgment there is an appeal to the Prior of the monastery to whom they owe allegiance, and from his decision to the Abuna. Except in religious questions, a further appeal may be made to the Emperor. Ecclesiastical courts are, in all religious questions, bound by the *Fatha Nagast*; in other cases they follow the customary law of the province.

(c) *Jurisdiction over Foreigners*

The question of jurisdiction over foreign subjects is always a possible source of friction in a nation such as the Abyssinian. In Abyssinia it has been met for many years by the good sense of the parties concerned. In cases arising between foreign subjects, the Abyssinian authorities have been accustomed to hand the matter over for settlement to the Legation or Legations concerned. But cases arising between an Abyssinian and a foreign subject have been tried by Abyssinian judges in the presence of one or more representatives of the foreign Legation or Legations concerned, whose opinion has been hitherto deferred to. This position of affairs was felt by the French to be unsatisfactory; and in their Treaty of Amity and Commerce of January 10, 1908, an article (VII, *see above*, p. 52) was inserted laying down that all offences, criminal or otherwise, as between French citizens or

persons enjoying French protection, shall come under French jurisdiction; but that questions between Frenchmen and Abyssinians shall be settled by an Abyssinian judge, assisted by the French Consul or his representative, judgment being given according to the law of the country to which the defendant belongs; and that if the judges disagree, the Emperor of Abyssinia shall decide the case as a final court of appeal.

The French solution of the difficulty did not commend itself to the British Government, as it practically admits Abyssinian jurisdiction over Europeans; whereas the Abyssinian code and customary law are utterly unsuited to modern conditions. The great majority of British subjects resident in the country are Indian traders.

(3) EDUCATIONAL

In 1907 Menelik decreed a compulsory system of education for all boys over 12 years of age. To carry it out a few school buildings were put up at Addis Abbaba and a few Coptic teachers were brought from Egypt. Nothing further was done, and beyond a few miles outside the capital no one even heard of the decree. As a matter of fact whatever instruction exists is given by the priests in the elementary schools attached to the churches, and is limited to teaching the Amharic language, reading, writing, and addition sums in arithmetic. The majority of the chiefs can read, but leave writing to their scribes; and a man is considered highly educated who can read and write, who has studied the elements of Abyssinian jurisprudence, and who can recite the Psalms in the Ge'ez version. Candidates for the priesthood are supposed, in addition, seriously to study the ancient Ge'ez language, now no longer spoken, into which, in the sixth or seventh century, the Bible and liturgies were translated by the monks from Egypt; but, though all learn to read it, few, it is said, really understand the language.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

INTERNAL

(a) Roads

THE only roads in Abyssinia are a few constructed by the Emperor Menelik in or near the capital. They are in bad repair, and almost impassable in wet weather. Even between Dire Dawa, formerly the terminus of the railway from Jibuti, and Harrar, once the chief commercial city of Abyssinia, a distance of only thirty-five miles, there is no road for wheeled traffic. In general, the routes are mere tracks, often so steep and difficult as to strain severely the mules and donkeys which are used for transport in the mountains.

The chief routes of entry to Abyssinia, apart from the railway from Jibuti and the channel of the Baro river from the Sudan as far as Gambela, are (1) on the northern frontier, to Gondar in Tigre, from Massawa and Asmara in Eritrea; (2) on the west, to Gallabat and Gondar, from the Sudan; and (3) on the south, from British East Africa, to Moyale and across the Boran plateau. These and other trade routes are described in more detail under the heading "Foreign Trade" (p. 78).

Inside the country, although no made roads exist suitable for heavy transport, travelling is fairly easy on the high ground, but on lower levels progress is impeded and sometimes barred by the rivers, which are either liable to sudden wide-spreading floods or course along ravines choked with tropical vegetation. On the high plateau the tracks usually follow the

watersheds and avoid the valleys as far as possible. In the Somali and other desert country, routes depend entirely on the water that is available; otherwise travelling does not present serious difficulties, and in the Boran region wheeled traffic is possible; but everywhere progress is rendered slow by the bad state of the tracks. From Asmara to Ankober the eastern escarpment forms an absolute barrier to communications; the western scarp is surmountable at several points, as is the Goro escarpment, near the southern frontier. Tracks lead from Addis Abbaba to all parts of the country.

(b) *Rivers*

Rivers in Abyssinia are obstacles, not aids to travel; none is navigable, except, during part of the year, the Baro. During the rainy season they become flooded, and owing to the absence of bridges make journeys almost impossible. There are bridges built by the Portuguese still standing in the neighbourhood of Gondar, and a few others, of more modern construction, in other parts of the country, among them an iron bridge over the Hawash; but Gojjam is practically cut off from the rest of Abyssinia for several months in the year.

A German mission in 1905 strove to persuade Menelik that the interests of Egypt and Abyssinia conflict, and that he could greatly increase the prosperity of his country by barraging the Blue Nile, and using its waters for irrigation. This advice was either ignorant or disingenuous; for the Blue Nile flows along the bottom of a deep and narrow gorge, covered with boulders and brushwood, and the surrounding country is too high above the level of the river to be watered by it.

(c) *Railways*

The most important means of communication with the outside world is the Jibuti—Addis Abbaba Rail-

way. It has a gauge of 1 metre and a total length of 495 miles, divided into three sections: Jibuti—Dire Dawa, 195 miles; Dire Dawa—Hawash, 149 miles; and Hawash—Addis Abbaba, 151 miles.

Trains run twice weekly in each direction, covering the whole distance in three days, but running by day only, owing to fear of attack at night by the desert tribes. The service is liable to interruption by floods in the rainy season.

(d) Posts, Telegraphs, Telephones

Abyssinia belongs to the International Postal Union, and maintains post offices at Addis Abbaba, Dire Dawa, and Harrar. There is a weekly mail by Jibuti. In all other parts of the country letters have to be forwarded by private carriers.

The telegraph and telephone system consists of 2,000 miles of wire in a state of bad repair. Further construction is projected. The Abyssinians prefer the telephone, mistrusting telegrams, which they regard as the fabrications of the clerks in the telegraph offices. In consequence there are only two telegraph lines. These are international, under European management. The first, worked by Italians, runs from Addis Abbaba *via* Dessie and Adowa to Asmara in Eritrea, and thence to Europe through the Sudan. The second, under French direction, runs from Addis Abbaba *via* Harrar and Dire Dawa to Jibuti, thence by cable to Europe. The principal telephones are a line between Worro-Jelo, a station on the Italian telegraph line, and Dankaz, near Gondar, and lines from the capital to Gambela and to the Kaffa, Sidamo, and Gojjam districts.

There is a wireless station at Gambela.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) LABOUR

Lack of labour would probably be a serious obstacle to any European agricultural or industrial enterprises on a large scale. The Abyssinian proper dislikes manual work, regarding it as beneath the dignity of a warrior, while the Somalis and Gallas are reluctant to do more than is necessary for subsistence. Further, the natives do not care to leave the highlands for fear of fever, and it is stated that for the cultivation of the delta of the Hawash, the soil and climate of which are well suited for growing cotton, labour would have to be imported. On the other hand, persons interested in the development of Abyssinia state that the great advantage this country has over similar areas elsewhere in Africa lies in the existence of a considerable population ready to work under settled conditions.

(2) AGRICULTURE

(a) Products of Commercial Value

With a volcanic soil and excellent climate, agriculture is extensive, but primitive. Tropical products are grown in the lower valleys, and cereals and beans up to 9,000 or 10,000 ft.

Coffee is the chief agricultural export. It is of two kinds: the Harrari, grown in plantations round Harrar, which is exported to Aden from Jibuti, and, mixed with Mocha coffee, is frequently sold (in Europe) as pure Mocha; and the Abyssinian, growing wild in the south and west, which is exported to the Sudan.

Cotton of an inferior kind grows wild, but the delta of the Hawash is considered very suitable for its cultivation. There are on the River Baro sugar and rubber plantations belonging to an Abyssinian company, but they are neglected, and have probably run to jungle.

Rubber is found over much the same area as coffee, and is collected under Government control but with little care or forethought.

Cereals, chiefly barley, are grown in sufficient quantities for home requirements, and some wheat is exported.

Vegetables, such as peas, beans, lentils, cabbages, potatoes, onions and garlic, are widely grown. Bananas, gourds and bread fruit are cultivated in the tropical zone, but vines appear to have been neglected since the Moslem invasion.

Bees are found almost everywhere, and large quantities of honey and wax are produced.

Stock-raising is an important industry. Its commercial value is uncertain, for the natives, who are great meat-eaters, treat their large herds of cattle mainly as a source of food. The hides and skins, in which a considerable trade is carried on, are regarded as a by-product. Methods of curing are gradually improving as the trade develops and prices rise. The best hides are those from the province of Jimma. Cattle ranching on a commercial scale is almost impossible, owing partly to the lack of tanneries, but chiefly to the absence of precautions against cattle plagues. Butter is made, but not cheese.

Sheep and goats were estimated in 1904 to number 20,000,000. The choicer breeds, which would probably flourish, are absent, for the sheep are of the short-haired, fat-tailed kind, which produce very little wool, while goats of the finer long-haired breed are not represented.

Few horses are kept, save in the Galla highlands, the chief transport animals being mules and donkeys, both of which are small and would be improved by crossing with finer varieties. Camels are used in the desert. Tame civet cats are kept in western Abyssinia, where they are much in demand for export, chiefly to Arabia and the Near East.

The only wild animal of commercial importance is the elephant. The herds are rapidly diminishing, for, though ivory is a Government monopoly licences to hunt are readily granted on condition that half the ivory obtained is handed over to the State.

(b) Methods of Cultivation

Agricultural methods, though primitive everywhere, are most efficient in the north, where the hill-sides are laid out in terraces, irrigation extensively practised, and little suitable land left untilled. Nowhere is the land properly ploughed, the surface of the soil being broken up with an implement consisting of a long pole provided with two iron teeth.

(c) Forests

There are few forests left in Abyssinia, except in the remote regions of the south-west. In the more accessible districts most of the timber has been cut down for fuel, and the plateaux are now grassy prairies dotted with clumps of trees, though the river valleys are still thickly wooded.

In the lowest regions and the first slopes the mimosa, cactus, euphorbia, and candelabra trees are found; in the Woina Dega (from 6,000 to 8,000 ft.) the olive and other oleaginous trees, gum-bearing acacias, vines, fruit trees, myrtles, junipers, bamboos, and medicinal shrubs like the *kusso* and the castor-oil plant; higher still are brushwood and pines. The forests of the south-west contain valuable timber, and the rubber vine is found there.

(d) Land-Tenure

Abyssinia is in the feudal stage of evolution, and the system of land-tenure is difficult and complex, as it was in mediæval Europe. The Crown is regarded as the ultimate owner of all land, and the theory is very far from being a legal fiction, though four categories of ownership exist—imperial, ecclesiastical, tribal, and private.

(1) *Crown Lands* include all unoccupied or uncultivated land, and are also acquired by conquest, by gift, by resumptions of grants, and by confiscations of

private lands. They are dealt with by the Negus in four different ways:—

(a) Sometimes they are given to soldiers, officials, or favourites as a reward for services; but it is not known whether these grants are made in perpetuity or whether the recipient incurs any liabilities.

(b) Sometimes they are granted to families or clans in return for a lump sum of money.

(c) More frequently they are granted in return for annual payments or services. The latter usually include: (i) paying tribute in money or kind; (ii) supplying *dergo*, that is, food requisitioned by soldiers on the march, officials, or indeed any travellers under the protection of the Negus, or again by soldiers who, in the Abyssinian phrase, "have been given the land to eat"; (iii) performing *corvée* or forced labour—a heavy burden, said to amount to one day's work in every three or four; (iv) giving presents or extraordinary contributions, usually in kind, on special occasions such as the marriage of a chief or the building of a church; (v) keeping the land in cultivation.

(d) The land is frequently managed for the Negus by officials, generally the local headmen, who allow the peasants to make what they can out of the soil, subject to certain obligations, of which the following are the most usual: (i) payment of a tithe of the grain gathered at the harvest, for which in stock-raising districts payment of four beasts in every hundred is substituted; (ii) payment of the Emperor's tax; (iii) supplying *dergo*; (iv) performing *corvée*.

(2) *Church Lands* are administered by officials in the same way as the fourth class of Crown lands; tithes formerly went to the Church, but a few years before his death Menelik appropriated them for the Crown, to which they are now paid. Tribute apparently is paid both to the Crown and to the Church, but the benefit of the *corvée* goes to the latter.

(3) *Tribal Lands* exist only in areas inhabited by nomads, such as the Danakils and the Somalis. They pay to the Crown the substitute for the tithe—four

beasts in every hundred—and also probably the Emperor's tax, but apparently are not subject to *dergo* or *corvée*.

(4) *Private Ownership* exists in Tigre, Gojjam, Shoa, and Harrar; owners are subject to the same obligations as occupiers of Crown lands, and the land is liable to confiscation by the Negus.

(3) MINERALS

In the absence of a proper survey no definite information is available, but Abyssinia is believed to possess great mineral wealth.

Gold is washed in the rivers of the west; considerable quantities were obtained during the period of Egyptian rule. Auriferous quartz reefs were found in the same region in 1901, and a concession was granted to a European company, the Société des Mines d'Or du Wallega, which, however, proved unsuccessful and was in liquidation in 1911.

Iron is found almost everywhere, and is worked in Tigre and Enarea.

Between Debra Libanos and Ankober there is a deposits of coal which is worked by the Government. There are also three coalfields between Gidami and Saiu.

Salt is found in Tigre and in the great salt plain. The chief markets are Makalle and Dessie.

In 1911 *potash* was discovered near the Abyssinian border, in a waterless, barren district some 75 kilometres inland from the small coast-settlement of Fatimari, which lies 76 miles south of Massawa. The salt deposits, which contain not less than 55 per cent. of potash and of which there are said to be over 800,000 tons available, were found to fall within Abyssinian territory. The discoverer, an Italian engineer, obtained from the Abyssinian Government a concession to work the mine for 35 years, but afterwards sold his concession rights for 2,500,000 francs to a company called the Compagnia Mineralia Coloniale, formed in September 1916, with a subscribed capital of 2,000,000 francs

(increased in 1917 to 6,000,000 francs). In order to provide transport the company constructed, before the end of April 1918, a light railway, 67 kilometres long, from Mersa (Fatima) on the coast to a point on the Eritrea border, some 16 kilometres from the Dalol mine. The rate of output at the end of April 1918 was only 25 to 30 tons daily, and the total output up till then was under 10,000 tons. The estimated cost price of the product was £6 per ton; its selling price in 1918, between £50 and £54 per ton.

(4) MANUFACTURES

Manufactures and industries are insignificant. There are no millers or bakers, apart from employees of the factories mentioned below, and no tailors, smiths, or bootmakers; what a man requires he usually makes for himself at home. Corn is ground by hand between stones. The use of the potter's wheel is unknown, but pottery of a rough sort is produced. Leather work is more developed, and there is some metal work, chiefly of arms and armour. A great deal of ingenious jewellery is made skilfully with simple tools. Straw plaiting, basket-making, and weaving are done by the women. At Addis Abbaba there are a few European factories under French or Italian management. These include a flour mill, several bakeries, and an aerated water factory, also a certain number of distilleries owned by Greeks. At Harrar there is a tannery managed by an Armenian. The Government cartridge factory at Addis Abbaba, owing to difficulties between its manager and the Government, never produced much, and stopped work about the end of 1917.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) DOMESTIC

(a) Towns

Addis Abbaba, the capital of Abyssinia, has a permanent population estimated at 70,000-80,000, and a

floating population of 20,000-30,000. The latter class come in from the countryside to sell their produce and buy what they require in the market; they then return home, the flux and reflux between town and country being practically continuous throughout the year. Caravans from the whole of Abyssinia converge at Addis Abbaba, where all the products of the country may be purchased, though prices are higher than in the provinces.

Like all other native Abyssinian settlements, the capital is rather a vast encampment or agglomeration of huts than a town; in former days there was no permanent capital, and the Emperor changed his residence as soon as the store of timber in the neighbourhood was exhausted. Some years ago lack of fuel made itself felt at Addis Abbaba, and Menelik expressed his intention of moving to a new capital. But vested interests had been created, permanent buildings had been erected, and the Emperor was eventually persuaded to give up his design.

Harrar, on the other hand, is a typical walled Arab town, with 45,000-50,000 inhabitants. The older buildings are constructed of sun-baked bricks, but in recent years a number of more modern houses have been erected, and outside the walls stone buildings with corrugated-iron roofs have been run up cheaply and rapidly by Greeks and Italians. The town is filthy; there is no sanitation, and cholera or any similar disease would take a heavy toll of the inhabitants. Harrar has long been a great commercial centre, and being in a fertile and populous district is likely always to remain so, though it has lost some of its importance since the construction of the railway.

Other Abyssinian towns are of minor importance, none having a population of more than about 5,000. Gondar, a former capital, though now little more than a collection of squalid huts, is the starting-point of the caravan routes to Gallabat and Asmara, and the focus of the trade of the district of Lake Tsana. Aksum, another old capital, and Adowa are on the caravan

route from Gondar to Asmara; while Addigrat, Makalle, and Antalo are on the direct route south from Eritrea to Addis Abbaba. Dessie, in the east, is the terminus of the caravan route from Asab; the neighbouring village, Borumieda, has an important market. Dire Dawa is a small European settlement on the railway, of which for a long time it was the terminus. Ginir, in the Arussi country, and Moyale, in the extreme south, are the channels for the trade with Italian Somaliland and British East Africa respectively. There is an important market at Anderacha in the Gecha district; Gore and Bure in the south-east trade with the Sudan *via* Gambela.

(b) Organizations to promote Trade and Commerce

The Italian Government has commercial agents at Adowa, Dessie, and Gondar, and in the Arussi country. The agent at Gondar sent a collection of local products, including coffee, ivory, wax, skins, and carpets, and also tobacco grown on the agency's experimental farm, to the Colonial Exhibition at Genoa in 1914. Gambela is administered by the Sudan Government through a British official, the Superintendent of Customs, aided by a few native police.

(c) Foreign Interests

The trade of Abyssinia is in the hands of foreigners—Europeans, Levantines, and the Indian merchants known as Banyans. The last named carry on the general retail trade, and are also importers and exporters on a large scale. The chief firms are Mohammed Ali and Jivaji, having offices at Addis Abbaba, Harrar, Dire Dawa, and Jibuti, and agents in the Kaffa and Gojjam districts.

There are Greek firms at the chief commercial centres, and Greeks often act, in outlying parts of the country, as agents for the larger houses of the capital.

The chief Greek firms are I. Gerolimato and T. Ar-mangas, P. Manolaki, A. N. Kalos, and G. S. Amourgis. Syrian, Arab, and Armenian traders are also established in various districts. J. D. Nicholas and Co. is a Syrian firm; Said Hamid el Bar is a British Arab, and M. Kevorkoff and O. Assadourian are Armenians.

The most important European houses are, probably, A. Besse and G. Guignony, French firms, the Abyssinia Corporation and Clayton, Ghaleb, and Co., which are British, though the active partner of the latter in Abyssinia, Ghaleb, is French-Syrian. There are Belgian and Swiss firms at the capital, and two Italian merchants, E. Beltramo and S. Liggi, at Dessie. Most of the European firms have establishments at Addis Abbaba, Dire Dawa, Harrar, and Jibuti.

Various agricultural, mining, and industrial concessions are held by Europeans. An ostrich farm near Lake Zwai is kept by two Germans. Extensive enterprises are rendered difficult by the political conditions of the country.

Ivory and rubber are Government monopolies, the latter having been granted to the Rubber Régie.

(2) FOREIGN

(a) *General*

No exact statistics of foreign trade are available, and the figures given are conjectural and must be accepted with reserve. At present the total value of the foreign trade appears to be about £2,200,000 per annum, divided between exports and imports in the ratio of about 55 to 45 per cent. It seems to be increasing steadily, though estimates vary very much. Small as it still is, the trade is the creation of the last thirty or forty years; in 1880 the total foreign commerce was carried by a few insignificant caravans, and was worth not more than about £16,000.

(b) *Channels of Foreign Trade*

As Abyssinia has no coast-line, all its foreign commerce must pass through French, Italian, or British territory.

(1) *French*.—The chief line of communication is the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba, which carries practically all the trade of Harrar and much of that from Shoa and central Abyssinia.

(2) *Italian*.—(a) Italian trade passes chiefly to Eritrea by the routes Gondar—Adowa—Addi Kwala—Asmara—Massawa, and Dessie—Asab; and to a very small extent by the route Gondar—Setit—Agordat—Massawa. None of these routes is satisfactory; the Asab route is dangerous on account of the desert tribes, and not practicable for Europeans, and that *via* Adowa leads through difficult and mountainous country, and is hampered by numerous toll gates. It is possible that the Gondar—Agordat route may be developed when the Eritrean railway reaches the River Setit.

Eritrean trade is chiefly with north-west Abyssinia.

(b) The small trade with Italian Somaliland passes chiefly through Dolo and Lugh; at Ginir the Italian agent residing in the Arussi country has formed a market and collecting station, from which caravans start for Mogadishu, but which is little used except as the centre of a contraband trade in guns.

(3) *British*.—(a) British trade passes mainly through the Sudan. The chief route is *via* Gore and Gambela, a Sudanese enclave established in Abyssinian territory for commercial purposes, and along the rivers Baro, Sobat, and White Nile to Khartum (862 miles). This trade is chiefly with the rich Kaffa country in south-west Abyssinia. It is handicapped by the fact that the rivers are navigable, in the most favourable seasons, only from about the middle of May to the middle of November. Of the other routes to the Sudan the most important is that which leads from Gondar *via* Gallabat and Sennar to Khartum, and competes

not unsuccessfully with Eritrea for the trade of north-west Abyssinia.

There are minor routes *via* Kurmuk and Roseires, the latter place being situated on the Blue Nile, 402 miles from Khartum.

(b) The trade with British Somaliland is divided between Berbera, Bulhar, and Zeila. The last named was formerly the port of Harrar, but it has lost all but an insignificant fraction of this trade since the construction of the railway, and its trade is now chiefly with the Ogaden country.

(c) The trade with Kenya passes almost entirely through Moyale, the residence of the British Vice-Consul for South Abyssinia. Moyale may become the distributing centre of the rich Sidamo country. It is approached by two routes through Kenya: one from Nairobi *via* Marsabit, the other from Kismayu by the Wajjeira oasis.

(c) Exports

(1) *Quantities and Values.*—The quantities and values of the exports by the various routes above described are given below, with such details as are available.

(i) *Exports passing through French Somaliland.*—The quantities and values of exports passing through Jibuti in 1913 and 1916 were as follows:—

	1913.		1916.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Kg.	Fr.	Kg.	Fr.
Coffee beans	3,761,093	7,148,383	4,190,718	8,208,582
Cattle hides	4,837,611	7,256,417	3,123,471	7,808,676
Sheep and goat skins	650,424	1,951,272	965,560	3,379,460
Wax	425,286	1,190,800	390,193	1,365,675
Ivory	53,000	1,831,660	—	604,680
Rubber	37,000	420,458	—	—
Total exports*	9,824,000	20,609,219	—	23,426,387

* Including also butter, wheat, civet, fresh meat, and (in 1913) gold.

(ii) *Exports through Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.*—(a) There are no customs stations on the borders of Eritrea, and therefore no exact statistics are available. In 1911 the trade was estimated by an Italian authority as being worth 5,392,651 lire (francs), of which exports from Abyssinia represented 2,320,558 lire. No information, however, is available as to the data on which this estimate is founded.

Live oxen are exported by this route and slaughtered in Eritrea, which is building up a trade in tinned meat. Hides and skins are the only other export of importance; minor exports are berberi (*peperoni*), butter, coffee, camels, wax, &c.

(b) The trade with Italian Somaliland is small: exports for the first ten months of 1911 were said to be worth 190,000 Maria Theresa dollars (£19,000). Coffee was the most valuable export.

(iii) *Exports through the Sudan, British Somaliland and British East Africa.*—(a) Trade with the Sudan is steadily increasing, and in 1917 exports amounted in value to £132,924. The chief item was coffee, of which 2,782 tons, valued at £105,895, were exported. The coffee is of the Abyssinian variety, which practically monopolizes the Khartum market: its value per ton is about one-half of that of Harrari (plantation) coffee. There was an export of beeswax, valued at £18,265; the other items, valued at £8,764, were classed together as sundries.

(b) The trade with British Somaliland amounted in 1913-14 to about £61,700, but it is not clear what proportion of this total was exports. The principal articles of export are skins, hides, native butter, coffee, and grain.

(c) Trade with Kenya, though small and fluctuating, is increasing: exports rose from £16,500 in 1911 to £61,750 in 1913, but fell to £33,390 in 1915.

The chief articles of export were cattle, of the humped or Zebu type from the Boran country, mules, the export of which is now forbidden, grain, and coffee.

Owing to the danger of coffee disease, Abyssinian coffee may not be sent to Nairobi.

(2) *Countries of Destination*.—Of the goods exported by the railway to Jibuti, the most important are Harrar coffee, hides and skins, beeswax, and ivory. Before the war, the coffee went chiefly to Hamburg, and in lesser quantities to Havre, London, Antwerp, and New York, sometimes being sent first to Aden to be mixed with Mocha coffee and sold eventually as pure Mocha. Inferior coffee from Addis Abbaba was exported to Hamburg, France, and Trieste. Ox-hides also went chiefly to Hamburg, where there are special installations for treating the undressed hides; after the outbreak of war large quantities were sent by the Swiss firm Dubail to Genoa, which was then the only port available possessing special apparatus for dealing with them. Goat-skins went mostly to America, in lesser quantity to France and Germany. Sheep-skins and some of the ox-hides go to France. The greater portion of the beeswax went to London, though considerable quantities were sent to Hamburg; it was hardened and re-exported, largely to Russia, for use in churches. Ivory is at present in very small demand; before the war a portion at least of the annual production went to London, but exact information is not available.

Exports through Eritrea go chiefly to Italy. There is little transit trade by the other routes.

(d) Imports

(1) *Quantities and Values*.—The quantities and values, as far as it is possible to ascertain them, of the imports passing into Abyssinia by the various routes are given below:—

(i) *Imports through French Somaliland*.—The following table shows the quantities and values of imports *via* Jibuti:—

	1913.		1916.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	M. Tons.	Fr.		Fr.
Cotton goods ...	4,735	8,672,139	—	11,875,319
Cotton yarn and thread	—	405,347	—	966,481
Railway material ...	—	1,669,050	—	—
Wines and spirits ...	1,175	767,000	—	—
Sugar ...	1,138	410,549	—	410,425
Kerosene oil ...	1,822	203,491	—	—
Salt ...	2,594	—	—	—
Coal ...	—	—	—	232,120
Total imports ...	21,077	20,280,759	—	16,540,273

(ii) *Imports through Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.*—(a) Imports through Eritrea were estimated at 3,072,093 lire in 1911. They consist chiefly of drugs, dura, cotton cloth and yarn, and silk cloth. (b) Imports through Italian Somaliland for the first ten months of 1911 were valued at 89,000 Maria Theresa dollars (£8,900).

(iii) *Imports through the Sudan, British Somaliland, and British East Africa (Kenya).*—(a) Imports through the Sudan in 1917 were valued at £65,226. The chief items were cotton and silk goods, £37,713, and salt, with other products of the Sudan, £16,239. (b) Imports through British Somaliland consist chiefly of salt and kerosene. (c) Those through British East Africa remain constant at about £5,000 to £6,000, consisting chiefly of cloth and (before the war) Maria Theresa dollars.

(2) *Countries of Origin.*—Imports from Great Britain consisted of cotton goods, yarn and thread, corrugated iron, boots, safes, and waterproof canvas. Italy contributed cotton goods, beads, felt hats, silks, soaps, wine, olive oil, and other foodstuffs. The imports from Germany, before the war, included beads, blankets, candles, carpets, cotton and thread, crockery, enamel-ware, hardware, lamps, mirrors, scent, sewing machines, soap, stationery, and sword blades. Austria-

Hungary supplied carpets, enamel-ware, hardware, lamps, matches, kerosene oil, stationery, sugar, and Maria Theresa dollars. From Belgium the chief imports were cotton blankets and glassware. France supplied boots, candles, tinned provisions, scent, silks, tanned and coloured goat-skins, soap, velvets, wines, and spirits. India sent cotton yarn, and had an exclusive trade in rice, tea, copper pots, incense, and sacks. Kerosene oil came from Russia. The United States provided cotton cloth (*abujedid*) and sewing machines.

Since the beginning of the recent war much of the German and Austrian trade in cheap household goods has been captured by the Japanese, whose exports to Jibuti were valued at over 1,000,000 francs in 1916. The chief firms importing cotton goods into Abyssinia were said, in 1911, to be Clayton & Co., of Manchester, who have agents in Abyssinia; Pelzer Manufacturing Company and Suffern Company, of New York; Baijeot & Co., of Liège; and various Italian firms exporting through G. and P. Pastacaldi, of Harrar and Addis Abbaba.

(e) Customs

Agreements exist with regard to goods passing to or from Abyssinia through French Somaliland, Eritrea, and the Sudan.

French Somaliland.—Imports to Abyssinia pay 10 per cent. duty, except beverages, which pay 8 per cent. only. The duties are collected and the values assessed—generally too high—by Abyssinian officials; there is now a fixed tariff for *abujedid*, other cotton goods, yarn, &c.

Eritrea.—No duties are paid at the frontier, but import and export duties of 8 per cent. are levied at Massowa, except on Italian goods, which pay 1 per cent. only.

The Sudan.—Exports from Abyssinia pay 6 per cent. *ad valorem*, of which 5 per cent. is refunded on goods in transit when they are re-exported. Import duties

of 6 per cent. on Sudanese produce and 8 per cent. on everything else are levied. Duties are collected by the Sudan officials. There is said to be a good deal of smuggling on this frontier, especially on the Gallabat route.

No information is available with regard to duties paid on imports and exports through British and Italian Somaliland and Kenya, and no customs service seems to have been organized on these frontiers. It is certain, however, that the duties enumerated above by no means exhaust the imposts on Abyssinian commerce. At every provincial boundary there are customs offices where both imports and exports are subject to duties which are always arbitrary and often oppressive; toll gates are numerous—there are said to be seventeen between Addis Abbaba and the Eritrean frontier alone; and finally there are market dues to be paid.

(f) Commercial Treaties in Force

These include the following:—

(1) A treaty with Great Britain, concluded July 28, 1897. This contained the following features in common with all the later treaties with other nations:—

- (a) A most-favoured-nation clause.
- (b) A clause conferring on the subjects of both nations the right to travel and carry on business.
- (c) A clause giving them the right to use the postal and telegraph systems.
- (d) A clause providing for the exchange of permanent diplomatic missions.

It had in addition clauses providing that:—

- (e) The caravan route between Zeila and Harrar was to be kept open.
- (f) Imports for the use of Menelik were to be free of duty.

(g) Import of arms for his use was authorized subject to the provisions of the general Act of the Brussels Conference, July 2, 1890. Menelik undertook to stop the passage of arms to the Mahdists.

(2) A second treaty¹ with Great Britain, concluded on May 15, 1902, by which Menelik agreed:—

- (a) Not to construct or allow to be constructed (except with the consent of the British and Sudan Governments) any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile.
- (b) To allow the British and Sudan Governments to select near Itang on the River Baro a piece of land having a river frontage of not less than 2,000 metres, which should be leased to the Sudan Government and occupied as a commercial station as long as the Sudan should remain under Anglo-Egyptian rule.²
- (c) To allow the British and the Sudan Governments to construct a railway through Abyssinia to connect the Sudan with Uganda, the route to be chosen by subsequent agreement.

(3) and (4) Treaties similar in character to the treaty of 1897, but without clauses (e), (f), and (g), concluded with the United States (March 17, 1904) and with Austria-Hungary (March 21, 1905). In both cases the treaties were to remain in force for ten years and then from year to year till denounced.

(5) A treaty with Germany, concluded March 7, 1905. It was identical with the preceding in its main features, but had some special points:—

- (a) Somewhat more extended rights were secured to the subjects of the contracting parties than

¹ See Appendix I, x, p. 96.

² Gambela was later substituted for Itang. See *Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, No. 98 of this series.

had been provided for by the previous treaties. They were to have the rights of residing and engaging in industrial enterprises as well as travelling and engaging in trade.

- (b) Diplomatic representatives had the right expressly reserved of residing where they pleased.

(6) A treaty with France, concluded January 10, 1908. This was on similar lines, with the following special features:—

- (a) French subjects to have the same rights as German.
- (b) The Ethiopian Government to facilitate the access of merchants to the Jibuti Railway.
- (c) Agreements as in points (f) and (g) of the English treaty of 1897, so far as they relate to Abyssinian imports.
- (d) Criminal and civil cases in Abyssinia between French subjects or protégés and Abyssinians to be tried before a French consul and an Abyssinian magistrate.

(D) FINANCE

(1) PUBLIC FINANCE

Materials are lacking for the formation of even a rough estimate of the annual revenue and expenditure. Revenue is derived chiefly from three sources—land taxes and services, customs, and dues paid by litigants.

(1) The land taxes have already been enumerated (see under Land-Tenure, p. 72). They include the tithe, the Emperor's tax, the extraordinary gifts or contributions, and the obligations to maintain travellers and perform forced labour.

(2) Customs have also been noticed (see under Customs, p. 84).

(3) The fees and fines of the law courts are an important source of revenue.

The receipts from these sources are supplemented by the sums paid by Europeans for the grant of concessions and monopolies, and also by extraordinary taxes levied for special purposes by virtue of the despotic power of the Crown.

Expenditure is certainly considerable. Not only did the late Emperor Menelik maintain a large standing army—it has been estimated that there are 15,000 to 20,000 soldiers in Addis Abbaba alone—but he also provided free meals regularly for several thousand people at a time. On the other hand, very little is spent on the civil services or education, and public works are carried on largely by forced labour.

(2) CURRENCY

The only coin in general use is the Maria Theresa dollar, which circulates throughout the country. These dollars all bear the date 1780, and are struck in Austria. Their intrinsic value fluctuates with the price of silver, but averages about two shillings. This fluctuation is a great hindrance to trade, since the Abyssinian cannot appreciate the cause of it, and being offered fewer dollars for his goods when silver is dear often refuses to sell at all. Bars of salt and cartridges take the place of small change, different values being attached to each in different parts of the country. The absence of any generally accepted stable and convenient coinage is one of the most serious obstacles to the development of commerce.

In 1894 Menelik introduced a new coinage, with a dollar of his own (worth two shillings and three pence), as a standard of value, and piastres at 16 to the dollar as small change. But although these are slowly coming into general use, they are far from being universally acceptable to the natives, and Maria Theresa dollars were imported from Europe up to the beginning of the recent war.

The Maria Theresa dollar circulates in Eritrea, Somaliland, Arabia, Aden, the Sudan border, Lake

Chad, Tripoli, &c., as well as in Abyssinia. Up till 1911 Eritrea was importing as many as 1,500,000 dollars per annum, and the Bank of Abyssinia about 1,200,000.

Some fourteen years ago a Government mint was built for the Emperor Menelik by the Austrian firm of Arthur Krupp, but it has not been worked for a long time.

(3) BANKING

Banking is mainly in the hands of the Bank of Abyssinia, which was founded in 1904 by the National Bank of Egypt with a capital of £500,000 (£125,000 paid up), of which one-half was to be of British origin one-quarter French, and one-quarter Italian. The board consists of the Governor of the National Bank of Egypt as president, the Governor of the Bank of Abyssinia, three directors appointed by the National Bank of Egypt, and five other directors, two of whom must be Abyssinian, one French, one German, and one Italian.

The bank has the right of coining money and issuing notes with the consent of the Government. In 1917 it issued notes to the value of £21,476, two-thirds of which were in circulation.

The head office is at the capital, and there are branches at Harrar, Dire Dawa, Gore, and Dessie, and a sub-agency at Gambela from March to November.

The business of the bank centres about the issue of loans and advances on deposits and merchandise. It carries on insurance business, and runs (for subscribers) a weekly private post between Addis Abbaba and Gambela.

(E) GENERAL REMARKS

Abyssinia is a country of undeveloped possibilities. The marked increase in the value of foreign trade which has taken place since 1880, when it was worth

probably not more than £16,000, justifies the expectation of continued progress in the future. It is certain that the stock-raising and agricultural resources of the country are very great. The breeds of domestic animals may be improved and the present crops increased, while there is hardly any product of the tropical or temperate zones which will not grow and flourish. It is less easy to forecast the future of mining, but on the whole there seems reason to anticipate that the mineral output will also be considerable.

Obstacles to progress arise from two sources—the situation and nature of the country and the character of the people and Government. Communications will always be hampered by the distance from the sea, the intervening deserts, and the mountainous formation of the land. With these difficulties the Government seems unable to cope. Its existence in its modern form was bound up with the work of the Emperor Menelik, and even he failed to create an efficient system of administration.

Efforts at reform seem doomed always to be thwarted by the disposition of the people. Most Abyssinians think all work but military service beneath their dignity; hence industry is in the hands of the Gallas and other subject races, or is limited to the satisfaction of immediate wants. In consequence, the resources of the country remain undeveloped, the herds are decimated by cattle plague, and the forests despoiled for firewood. The absence of sustained effort is further illustrated by the mismanagement of European imports, the neglect of the telegraph system, and the dilapidation of roads and buildings.

It is clear that Great Britain is deeply interested in the future of Abyssinia, since the Blue Nile takes its rise in this region, washing down from the volcanic plateau the fine reddish-brown mud which, mixed with the organic matter brought down by the White Nile, does more than any manure for the annual renovation of the soil of Egypt. It is essential that the waters of the Blue Nile should not be diverted, a fact

which is recognised by the treaty of 1902 between Great Britain and Abyssinia, and by the Tripartite Agreement of 1906 between Great Britain, France, and Italy.

APPENDIX

I

EXTRACTS FROM TREATIES, &C.

I.—TREATY OF UCCIALLI, SIGNED MAY 2, 1889, BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

Art. XIV.—The slave trade being contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia engages to hinder it by all the means in his power, so that no caravan of slaves may be able to pass through his territory.

Art. XVII.—His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia consents to avail himself of the Italian Government for any negotiations which he may enter into with the other Powers or Governments (*per tutte le trattazioni di affari che avesse con altre potenze o governi*).

II.—THE ADDITIONAL CONVENTION, SIGNED OCTOBER 1, 1889¹

Art. I.—The King of Italy recognises King Menelik as Emperor of Ethiopia.

Art. II.—King Menelik recognises the sovereignty of the King of Italy in the Colonies which go under the name of Italian possessions in the Red Sea.

Art. III.—In virtue of the preceding Articles, a rectification of the territories shall be made, taking as a basis the actual state of possession, by the means of Delegates who shall be nominated by the King of Italy and by the Emperor of Ethiopia, according to the terms of Article III of the Treaty of May 2, 1889 (Mazzia 25, 1881).

Art. V.—Loan of 4,000,000 lire to be contracted by Emperor of Ethiopia with an Italian bank, under guarantee of Italian Government, on security of receipts of Harrar Custom House.

Art. VII.—Half of loan to be paid in silver, and the remainder to be deposited in Italy to meet purchases by Ethiopia in Italy.

¹ Notified by Italy to the Powers October 12, 1889.

III.—PROTOCOL BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND ITALIAN GOVERNMENTS FOR THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA, FROM THE RIVER JUBA TO THE BLUE NILE; SIGNED AT ROME, MARCH 24, 1891

I. The line of demarcation in East Africa between the spheres of influence respectively reserved to Great Britain and Italy shall follow from the sea the mid-channel of the River Juba up to latitude 6° N., Kismayu with its territory on the right bank of the river thus remaining to England. The line shall then follow the 6th parallel of N. latitude up to the meridian 35° E. of Greenwich, which it will follow up to the Blue Nile.

IV.—PROTOCOL BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY FOR THE DEMARCATION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA FROM RAS KASAR TO THE BLUE NILE, APRIL 15, 1891

I. The sphere of influence reserved to Italy is bounded on the north and on the west by a line drawn from Ras Kasar on the Red Sea to the point of intersection of the 7th parallel N. with the 37th meridian E. of Greenwich. The line having followed that meridian to $16^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude is drawn from that point in a straight line to Sabderat, leaving that village to the east. From that village the line is drawn southward to a point on the Gash 20 English miles above Kassala, and rejoins the Atbara at the point indicated as being a ford in Munzinger's map of 1864, and situated $14^{\circ} 52'$ N. latitude. The line then ascends the Atbara to the confluence of the Kor Kakamot, whence it follows a westerly direction till it meets the Kor Lemsén, which it descends to its confluence with the Rahad. Finally the line, having followed the Rahad for the short distance between the confluence of the Kor Lemsén and the intersection of 35° E. longitude Greenwich, identifies itself in a southerly direction with that meridian, until it meets the Blue Nile.

II. The Italian Government shall be at liberty, in case of being obliged to do so by the necessities of the military situation, to occupy Kassala and the adjoining country as far as the Atbara. Such occupation shall in no case extend to the north nor to the north-east of the following line:—

From the right bank of the Atbara, in front of Gos Rejeb, the line is drawn in an easterly direction to the intersection of the 36th meridian, east Greenwich; thence, turning to the south-east, it passes 3 miles to the south of the points marked Filik and Metkinab on the above-mentioned map of Werner Munzinger,

and joins the line mentioned in Article I, 25 English miles north of Sabderat, measured along the said line.

It is nevertheless agreed between the two Governments that any temporary military occupation of the additional territory specified in this Article shall not abrogate the rights of the Egyptian Government over the said territory, but that these rights shall only remain in suspense until the Egyptian Government shall be in a position to reoccupy the district in question up to the line indicated in Article I of this Protocol, and there to maintain order and tranquillity.

V.—AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY DEFINING THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN EAST AFRICA. ROME, MAY 5, 1894

I. The boundary of the spheres of influence of Great Britain and Italy in the regions of the Gulf of Aden shall be constituted by a line which, starting from Gildessa and running towards the 8° N. latitude skirts the north-east frontier of the territories of the Girrhi, Bertiri, and Rer Ali tribes, leaving to the right the villages of Gildessa, Darmi, Gig-giga, and Milmil. On reaching the 8° N. latitude the line follows that parallel as far as its intersection with the 48° longitude E. of Greenwich. It then runs to the intersection of the 9° N. latitude with the 49° longitude E. of Greenwich, and follows that meridian of longitude to the sea.

VI.—(1) TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED OCTOBER 26, 1896

[Art. I.—End of state of war. Perpetual peace and friendship.

Art. II.—Treaty of May 2, 1889, annulled.

Art. III.—Recognition by Italy of Ethiopia as a sovereign and independent State.]

Art. IV.—Les deux Puissances Contractantes n'ayant pu se mettre d'accord sur la question des frontières, et désireuses cependant de conclure la paix sans délai et d'assurer ainsi à leurs pays les bienfaits de la paix, il a été convenu que dans le délai d'un an, à dater de ce jour, des Délégués de confiance de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie et de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Éthiopie établiront, par une entente amicale, les frontières définitives. Jusqu'à ce que ces frontières aient été ainsi fixées, les deux Parties Contractantes conviennent d'observer le *statu quo ante*, s'interdisant strictement de part et d'autre de franchir la frontière provisoire, déterminée par le cours des Rivières Mareb, Belessa et Mouna.

Art. V.—Jusqu'à ce que le Gouvernement Italien et le Gouvernement Éthiopien aient d'un commun accord fixé leurs frontières définitives, le Gouvernement Italien s'engage à ne faire

de cession quelconque de territoire à aucune autre Puissance. Au cas où il voudrait abandonner de sa propre volonté une partie du territoire qu'il détient, il en ferait remise à l'Éthiopie.

Art. VII.—Treaty to be brought to the notice of other Powers.

(2) SUPPLEMENTARY CONVENTIONS, SIGNED
OCTOBER 26, 1896

Art. I.—According to the Treaty of Peace between Italy and Ethiopia, signed this day, the Italian prisoners of war detained in Ethiopia are declared free. His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia engages to assemble them as soon as possible, and to send them to the Italian Plenipotentiary at Harrar immediately after the signature of the Treaty of Peace.

Art. II.—To facilitate repatriation of these prisoners, and to ensure for them all the necessary care, His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia authorises a detachment of the Italian Red Cross to come as far as Gildessa.

Art. III.—The Italian Plenipotentiary, having spontaneously acknowledged that the prisoners have been the object of the greatest solicitude on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, admits that their maintenance has entailed considerable expense, and that the Italian Government is indebted to His Majesty for sums corresponding to these expenses. His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia declares himself willing to leave it to the equity of the Italian Government to recompense him for these sacrifices.

VII.—CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ABYSSINIA,
SIGNED MARCH 20, 1897

La frontière de la zone côtière conservée par la France comme possession ou protectorat direct sera indiquée par une ligne partant de la frontière Franco-Anglaise à Djalelo, passant à Rahalé, Gobad, Airoli, le bord du lac Abbé, Mergada, le bord du lac Alli, et, de là, remontant par Daimuli et Adghéno Marci, puis gagnant Doumeirah par Ettaga en côtoyant Raheitah.

VIII.—(1) TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
ABYSSINIA, SIGNED MAY 14, 1897

Art. II.—The frontiers of the British Protectorate on the Somali Coast recognised by the Emperor Menelik shall be determined subsequently by exchange of notes between James Rennell Rodd, Esq., as Representative of Her Majesty the Queen, and Ras Makonnen, as Representative of His Majesty the Emperor Menelik, at Harrar. These notes shall be annexed to the present treaty, of which they will form an integral part, so soon as they have received the approval of the High Contracting Parties, pending which the *status quo* shall be maintained.

(2) ANNEX TO TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND
ABYSSINIA, JUNE 4, 1897

The Emperor of Ethiopia will recognise as frontier of the British Protectorate on the Somali coast the line which, starting from the sea at the point fixed in the Agreement between Great Britain and France on February 9, 1888, opposite the wells of Hadou, follows the caravan-road, described in that Agreement, through Abbassouen till it reaches the hill of Somadou. From this point on the road the line is traced by the Saw Mountains and the hill of Egu to Moga Medir; from Moga Medir it is traced by Eylinta Kaddo to Arran Arrhe, near the intersection of longitude 44° east of Greenwich with latitude 9° north. From this point a straight line is drawn to the intersection of 47° east of Greenwich with 8° north. From here the line will follow the frontier laid down in the Anglo-Italian Protocol of May 5, 1894, until it reaches the sea.

The tribes occupying either side of the line shall have the right to use the grazing grounds on the other side, but during their migrations it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest wells is equally reserved to the tribes occupying either side of the line.

IX.—CONVENTION BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA,
SIGNED JULY 10, 1900

Art. I.—The line Tomat—Todluc—Mareb—Belesa—Muna, traced on the map annexed, is recognised by the two Contracting Parties as the boundary between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Art. II.—The Italian Government binds itself not to cede or sell to any other Power the territory comprised between the line Tomat, Todluc, Mareb-Mai, Ambessa-Mai, Feccia-Mai, Maretta-Mai, Ha-Mahio, Piano Galline Faraone, and the line Tomat, Todluc, Mareb, Belesa, Muna, left by His Majesty Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, to Italy.

X.—TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABYSSINIA
TO REGULATE THE FRONTIER BETWEEN THE
SUDAN AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED MAY 15, 1902

Art. I.—The frontier between the Sudan and Ethiopia shall be: The line which is marked in red on the map annexed to this treaty and traced from Khor Um Hagar to Gallabat, to the Blue Nile, Baro, Pibor, and Akobo Rivers to Melile, and thence to the intersection of the 6° N. latitude with the 35° longitude E. of Greenwich.

Art. II.—The boundary, as defined in Art. I, shall be delimited and marked on the ground by a Joint Boundary Commis-

sion, which shall be nominated by the two High Contracting Parties, who shall notify the same to their subjects after delimitation.

Art. III.—The Emperor Menelik engages not to construct or to allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the Sobat which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile, except in agreement with the Governments of Great Britain and the Sudan.

Art. IV.—The Emperor Menelik engages to allow the Governments of Great Britain and the Sudan to select in the neighbourhood of Itang, on the Baro River, a block of territory having a river frontage of not more than 2,000 metres and an area not exceeding 400 hectares, which shall be leased to the Government of the Sudan, to be administered and occupied as a commercial station so long as the Sudan is under the Anglo-Egyptian Government.

It is agreed between the two High Contracting Parties that the territory so leased shall not be used for any political or military purpose.

Art. V.—The Emperor Menelik grants to the Governments of Great Britain and of the Sudan the right to construct a railway through Abyssinian territory to connect the Sudan with Uganda. A route for the railway will be selected by mutual agreement between the two High Contracting Parties.

Done at Addis Ababa, May 15, 1902.

[For the Annex to the Treaties of July 10, 1900, and May 15, 1902, modifying the frontiers between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and between the Sudan and Eritrea, see below, p. 103.]

XI.—(1) AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND ITALY RESPECTING ABYSSINIA,
SIGNED AT LONDON, DECEMBER 13, 1906.

Preamble

It being the common interest of France, Great Britain, and Italy to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia, to provide for every kind of disturbance in the political conditions of the Ethiopian Empire, to come to a mutual understanding in regard to their attitude in the event of any change in the situation arising in Ethiopia, and to prevent the action of the three States in protecting their respective interests, both in the British, French, and Italian possessions bordering on Ethiopia and in Ethiopia itself, from resulting in injury to the interests of any of them—the Government of the French Republic, the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and the Government of Italy have assented to the following Agreement:—

Maintenance of Status Quo

Art. I.—France, Great Britain, and Italy shall co-operate in maintaining the political and territorial *status quo* in Ethiopia as determined by the state of affairs at present existing and by the following Agreements—

[Here are specified nine several Agreements (1891-1902).]

It is understood that the various Conventions mentioned in this Article do not in any way infringe the sovereign rights of the Emperor of Abyssinia, and in no respect modify the relations between the three Powers and the Ethiopian Empire as stipulated in the present Agreement.

Grant of Concessions

Art. II.—As regards demands for agricultural, commercial, and industrial concessions in Ethiopia the three Powers undertake to instruct their representatives to act in such a way that concessions which may be accorded in the interest of one of the three States may not be injurious to the interests of the two others.

Non-intervention in Internal Affairs

Art. III.—In the event of rivalries or internal changes in Ethiopia, the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Italy shall observe a neutral attitude, abstaining from all intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and confining themselves to such action as may be, by common consent, considered necessary for the protection of the Legations, of the lives and property of foreigners, and of the common interests of the three Powers. In no case shall one of the three Governments interfere in any matter whatsoever, except in agreement with the other two.

Maintenance of Integrity of Ethiopia

Art. IV.—In the event of the *status quo* laid down in Art. I being disturbed, France, Great Britain, and Italy shall make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia. In any case, they shall act together, on the basis of the Agreements enumerated in the above-mentioned Article, in order to safeguard:

(a) The interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile basin, more especially as regards the regulation of the waters of that river and its tributaries (due consideration being paid to local interests) without prejudice to Italian interests mentioned in § (b);

(b) The interests of Italy in Ethiopia as regards Erythrea and Somaliland (including the Benadir), more especially with reference to the *hinterland* of her possessions and the territorial connection between them to the west of Addis Abbaba;

(c) The interests of France in Ethiopia as regards the French Protectorate on the Somali coast, the *hinterland* of their Protectorate, and the zone necessary for the construction and working of the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba.

Railway Concessions

Art. V.—The French Government communicates to the British and Italian Governments—

- (1) The concession of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway of March 9, 1894.
- (2) A communication from the Emperor Menelik, dated August 8, 1904, the translation of which is annexed to the present Agreement, inviting the company, to whom the above concession was granted, to construct the second section of the line from Dire Dawa to Addis Abbaba.

Jibuti Railway

Art. VI.—The three Governments agree that the Jibuti Railway shall be prolonged from Dire Dawa to Addis Abbaba, with a branch line to Harrar eventually, either by the Ethiopian Railway Company, in virtue of the deeds enumerated in the preceding Article, or by any other private French company which may be substituted therefor with the consent of the French Government, on condition that the nationals of the three countries shall enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment on the railway and in the port of Jibuti. Goods shall not be subject to any fiscal transit duty levied for the benefit of the French Colony or Treasury.

Art. VII.—The French Government will endeavour to arrange that an English, an Italian, and a representative of the Emperor of Abyssinia shall be appointed to the Board of the French company or companies which may be entrusted with the construction and the working of the railway from Jibuti to Addis Abbaba. The British and Italian Governments will reciprocally endeavour to arrange that a French director shall in like manner be appointed to the Board of any English or Italian company which has been or may be formed for the construction or working of railways running from any point in Abyssinia to any point in the adjoining English or Italian territory. It is likewise agreed that the nationals of the three countries shall enjoy in all matters of trade and transit absolute equality of treatment, both on the railways which may be constructed by English or Italian companies and in the English or Italian ports from which these railways may start. Goods shall not be subject to any fiscal transit duty levied for the benefit of the British or Italian Colonies or Treasuries.

The three Signatory Powers agree to extend to the nationals of all other countries the benefit of the provisions of Arts. VI and VII relating to equality of treatment as regards trade and transit.

Art. VIII.—The French Government shall abstain from all interference as regards the concession previously granted beyond Addis Abbaba.

Railway west of Addis Abbaba to be carried out under auspices of Great Britain

Art. IX.—The three Governments are agreed that all railway construction in Abyssinia west of Addis Abbaba shall, in so far as foreign assistance is required, be carried out under the auspices of Great Britain. The three Governments are also agreed that all construction of railways in Ethiopia to the west of Addis Abbaba connecting Benadir with Eritrea shall, in so far as foreign assistance is required, be carried out under the auspices of Italy.

Railway from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to Sudan.

The British Government reserve to themselves the right, should the case arise, to make use of the authorisation granted by the Emperor Menelik on August 28, 1904, to construct a railway from British Somaliland through Ethiopia to the Sudanese frontier, on condition, however, that they previously come to an agreement with the French and Italian Governments, the three Governments undertaking not to construct, without previous agreement, any line entering Abyssinian territory or intended to join the Abyssinian lines, which would compete directly with those established under the auspices of any one of them.

Art. X.—The representatives of the three Powers will keep each other fully informed and will co-operate for the protection of their respective interests. In the event of the British, French, and Italian representatives being unable to agree, they will refer to their respective Governments, suspending all action meanwhile.

Art. XI.—Beyond the Agreements enumerated in Arts. I and V of the present Convention, no Agreement concluded by any one of them concerning Ethiopia shall affect the other Signatory Powers of the present Agreement.

Done at London, December 13, 1906.

E. GREY.

PAUL CAMBON.

A. DI SAN GIULIANO.

(2) ADDITIONAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND ITALY, DECEMBER 13, 1906

Preamble

France, Great Britain, and Italy, having a common interest to prevent all disorder in the territories which they respectively possess in the Abyssinian region and upon the coast of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean, have entered into the following agreement:—

Agreement

1. The Contracting Governments, in reference to the regulations laid down in Arts. VIII to XIII in the General Act of

Brussels of July 2, 1890, engage to exercise a rigorous surveillance over the importation of arms and munitions:

The French Government at Jibuti and Obuk and in the territories of French Somaliland;

The British Government in British Somaliland and in the ports and territories of Zeila, Berbera, Aden, and Perim; and

The Italian Government in Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and in particular in the ports of Massawa and Asab.

2. For arms and munitions destined for the Abyssinian Government, recognised Abyssinian chiefs, and individuals in Abyssinia, authority for transit will be given only on a demand formulated by the Abyssinian Government, indicating by name the persons authorised to receive them as well as the nature and quantity of the arms and munitions, and certifying that these arms and munitions are not to be sold.

3. The three Governments engage to make common representations to the Negus for the prevention—in accordance with the regulations of the General Act of Brussels—of the traffic in arms and munitions in Abyssinian territory.

4. In regard to the surveillance of vessels (*boutres*) which come to fetch arms at Jibuti, Aden, Perim, Zeila, Massawa, Asab, and other ports of the region for localities situated outside the zone under the protection of the Act of Brussels, measures shall be taken to prevent their committing any acts of contraband.

5. The French Government—though it adheres expressly to the principles of French legislation on the right of search, and is fully aware that the British and Italian Governments in the same way adhere to their own principles upon this question—accepts that the measures of surveillance, applied by the local authorities in the British and Italian territorial waters to the small native trading vessels (*boutres*), whether British or Italian, shall be equally applicable in the British and Italian territorial waters to the vessels carrying the French flag: and on their side the British and Italian Governments accept that the measures of surveillance applied by the local authorities in the French territorial waters to the small French native vessels (*boutres*) shall be equally applicable to the vessels carrying the British or Italian flag. These measures shall be applied without its being necessary to have recourse to the formalities prescribed by the Consular Conventions in force between the three Governments.

6. To facilitate the surveillance over the native vessels, and to prevent any abuse of their flags, the three Governments agree to communicate to each other year by year the list of "*boutres*" authorised to carry their respective flags.

7. The three Governments shall, in addition, compel the masters of the "*boutres*" authorised to carry the British, French, or Italian flags to paint upon their vessels clear marks so as to render them more easily recognisable at a distance.

8. The three Governments agree to direct their respective local authorities to combine together for the due execution of the measures contemplated under the present Convention.

9. The present arrangement is concluded for a period of twelve years from the date of signature, and shall remain in force from one period of three years to another, unless it is denounced six months in advance.

Done at London, December 13, 1906.

A. DI SAN GIULIANO.
PAUL CAMBON.
E. GREY.

XII.—TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ABYSSINIA, SIGNED DECEMBER 6, 1907

The frontier between British East Africa, Uganda, and Ethiopia, agreed on between the two Governments, shall be—

The line which is marked in red on the maps annexed to this treaty in duplicate, which line, starting from the junction of the River Dawa with the River Ganale, follows the thalweg of the River Dawa to Ursulli, and from that point follows the tribal limits between the Gurré and the Borana to Gebel Kuffolé; from Gebel Kuffolé the line passes through the summits of the following hills: Roka, Churré Moyele, Burrolé, El-Dimtu, Furroli, Dugga Kakulla, Burchuma, Afur. From there the line goes to the creek at the south end of Lake Stefanie, thence due west to Lake Rudolf, thence north-west across Lake Rudolf to the point of the peninsula east of Sanderson Gulf, thence along the west shore of that peninsula to the mouth, or marshes at the mouth of the River Kibish (River Sacchi), thence along the thalweg of this river to latitude $5^{\circ} 25'$ north; from there due west to a point $35^{\circ} 15'$ longitude east of Greenwich; thence the line follows this degree of longitude to its intersection with latitude $5^{\circ} 40'$ north, and runs from there to the intersection of the 6° north latitude with the 35° of longitude east of Greenwich.

The tribes occupying either side of the line shall have the right to use the grazing grounds on the other side as in the past, but during their migrations it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest wells is equally accorded to the tribes occupying either side of the line.

Both Governments shall send Commissioners, who shall, in concert, delimit the exact line of the frontier which is above described, and which is marked, pending such delimitation, with a red line upon the accompanying maps.

XIII.—CONVENTIONS BETWEEN ITALY AND ABYSSINIA
SIGNED MAY 16, 1908(1) *Somalia—Ethiopia*

Art. I.—The line of frontier between the Italian possessions of Somalia and the provinces of the Ethiopian Empire starts from Dolo, at the confluence of the Dawa and the Ganale, proceeds eastwards by the sources of the Maidaba, and continues as far as the Webi Shebéli, following the territorial boundaries between the tribe of Rahanuín, which remains dependent on Italy, and all the tribes to its north, which remain dependent on Abyssinia.

Art. II.—The frontier on the Webi Shebéli shall be the point where the boundary between the territory of the Baddi-Addi tribe, which remains dependent on Italy, and the territory of the tribes above the Baddi-Addi, which remain dependent on Abyssinia, touches the river.

Art. III.—The tribes on the left of the Juba, that of Rahanuín, and those on the Webi Shebéli below the frontier point shall be dependent on Italy. The tribes of Digodia, of Afgab, of Djedjedi, and all the others to north of the frontier-line shall be dependent on Abyssinia.

Art. IV.—From the Webi Shebéli the frontier proceeds in a north-easterly direction, following the line accepted by the Italian Government in 1897; all the territory belonging to the tribes towards the coast shall remain dependent on Italy; all the territory of Ogaden, and all that of the tribes towards the Ogaden, shall remain dependent on Abyssinia.

Additional Act

The Government of His Majesty the King of Italy shall, after approval has been given by the Italian Parliament, and ratification by His Majesty the King, of the present Additional Act, put at the disposition of His Majesty Menelik II, King of Kings of Ethiopia, the sum of 3,000,000 Italian lire.

(2) *Eritrea—Ethiopia*

Art. I.—From the most easterly point of the frontier established between the Colony of Eritrea and Tigré by the Convention of July 10, 1900, the boundary proceeds in a south-easterly direction, parallel to and at a distance of 60 kilomètres from the coast, until it joins the frontier of the French possessions of Somalia.

XIV.—ANNEX TO THE TREATY OF JULY 10, 1900, AND TO
THE TREATY OF MAY 15, 1902.*Frontier between Ethiopia and Eritrea.*

Art. I.—This frontier, previously determined by the line Tomat-Todluc, is modified in the following manner:—

Commencing from the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit, the new frontier follows this river to its junction with the Maïeteb, following the latter's course so as to leave Mount Ala Tacura to Eritrea, and joins the Mareb at its junction with the Mai Ambessa.

The line from the junction of the Setit and Maïeteb to the junction of the Mareb and Mai Ambessa shall be delimited by Italian and Ethiopian delegates, so that the Canama tribe belong to Eritrea.

Frontier between the Sudan and Eritrea.

Art. II.—This frontier, instead of that delimited by the English and Italian delegates by the Convention of April 16, 1901, shall be the line which, from Sabderat, is traced *via* Abu Jamal to the junction of the Khor Um Hagar with the Setit.

II

TEXT OF MENELIK'S CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE EUROPEAN POWERS OF APRIL 10, 1891

... Nous désirons faire connaître les limites d'Éthiopie. Partant de la limite italienne d'Arafalé, qui est située sur le bord de la mer, cette limite se dirige vers l'ouest sur la plaine de Gegra Medra, va vers Mahija Halai, Digsa et Goura, et arrive jusqu'à Adibaro.

D'Adibaro, la limite arrive jusqu'à l'endroit où le Mareb et le fleuve Atbara se réunissent.

Cette limite partant ensuite du dit endroit se dirige vers le Sud et arrive ensuite à l'endroit où le fleuve Atbara et le fleuve Setit (Takaseh) se rencontrent et où se trouve la ville connue sous le nom de Tomat.

Partant de Tomat, la limite embrasse la province de Kedaref et arrive jusqu'à la ville de Kargag (Karkoj) sur le Nil Bleu.

De Kargag cette limite arrive jusqu'à l'endroit où le Nil Blanc et le Sobat se rencontrent.

Partant de cet endroit la limite suit le dit fleuve Sobat, y compris le pays des Gallas, dit Arboré, et arrive jusqu'à la mer (lac) Sambouron (Rudolf).

Vers l'Est, sont compris le pays des Gallas, connu sous le nom de Borani, tout le pays des Aroussi jusqu'aux limites des Somalis, y compris également la province d'Ogaden.

Vers le Nord la limite embrasse les Habr Aoual (Awaz), les Gadaboursi, les Eissa Somalis, et arrive jusqu'à Ambos.

Partant d'Ambos la limite embrasse le lac Assal, la province de notre vassal d'ancienne date, Mohammed Anfalé (Anfari), longe la côte et rejoint Arafalé.

En indiquant aujourd'hui les limites actuelles de mon empire, je tâcherai, si Dieu veut bien m'accorder la vie et la force, de rétablir les anciennes frontières d'Éthiopie jusqu'à Khartoum et jusqu'au lac Nyanza avec les pays Gallas.

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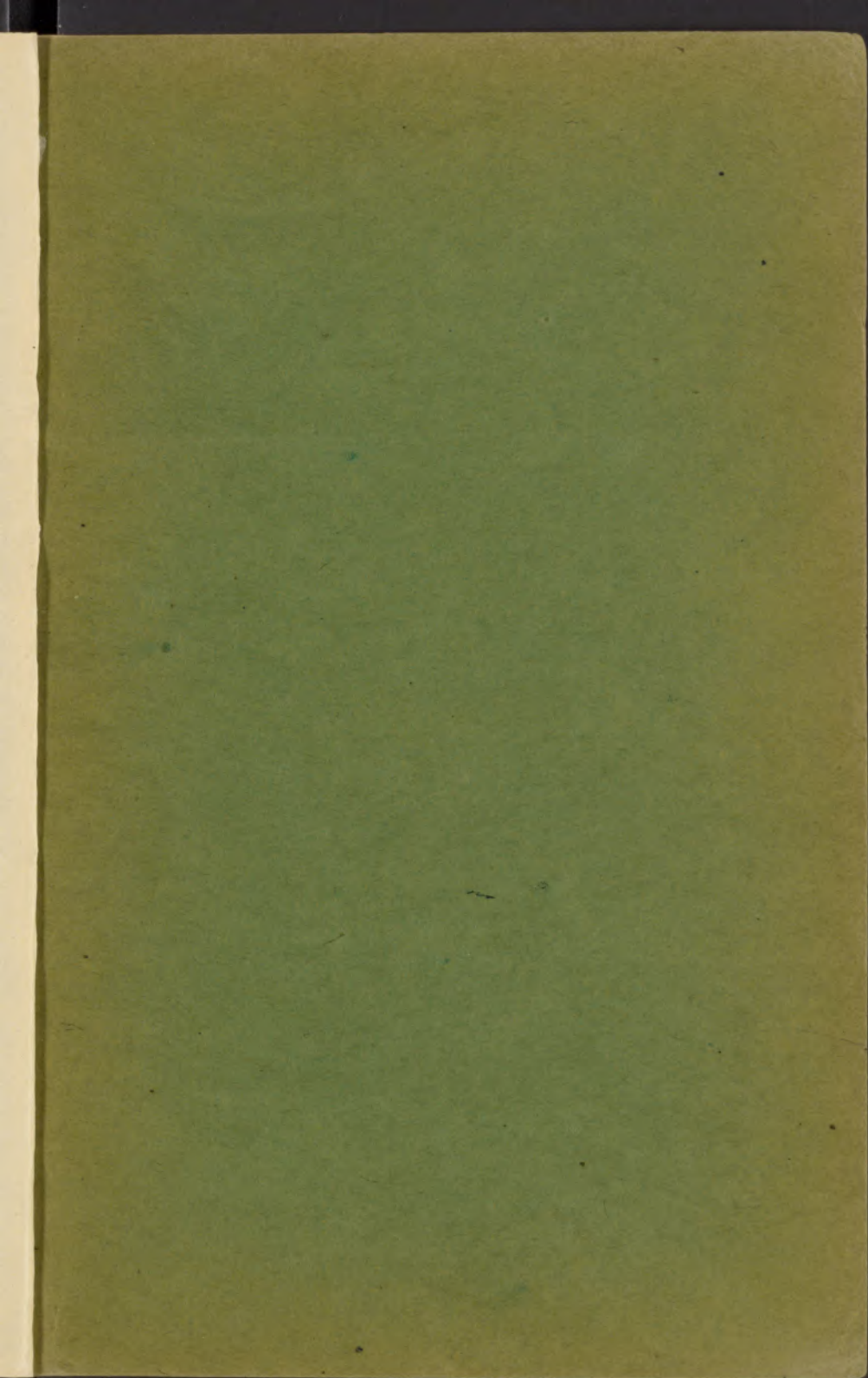
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MAPS

The country is covered by the War Office "Map of Abyssinia" (G.S.G.S. 2319), on the scale of 1:3,000,000 (1908, with additions 1914; reprint 1918, with railway addition).

The War Office Map of Africa (G.S.G.S. 1539, old numbering), on the scale of 1:1,000,000, shows part of the country on sheets 67, 68, 79 and 80; of the International Map of Africa (G.S.G.S. 2465, new numbering), on the same scale, only two sheets of the seven which would cover Abyssinia are ready.



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